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ABSTRACT

Based on current research, the study reports on how students spend out-of-school time, addresses issues related to the integration of services and parent and family involvement, and suggests ways in which the Chapter 1 program can play a more active role than in the past. Research has indicated that placing more emphasis on primary services for children with a social, recreational, or civic orientation can reduce the need for specialized services aimed at deficits or dysfunctions. Children under adult supervision in formal after-school programs have demonstrated improved achievement and better attitudes toward school than peers in sibling care or self-care. Nearly one-third of 9-year-olds report that they do not receive daily homework assignments, but research suggests that programs that encourage and assist students to complete their homework can affect academic achievement. Schools can be a logical site for the integration of services, but are by no means the only possible place for service delivery. Parent involvement programs include a variety of service models. Current Chapter 1 law requires only a few parent involvement strategies, but many options are available for increasing involvement and its promotion in Chapter 1. Sixteen exhibits illustrate the report. (Contains 72 references.) (SLD)

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The Other 91 Percent

A Supplemental Volume to the National Assessment of the Chapter 1 Program

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The Other 91 Percent

Strategies to Improve the Quality of Out-of-School Experiences of Chapter 1 Students

Supplement to the
National Assessment of
Chapter 1

1993

Carrie B. Chimerine
Karen L. M. Panton
Alexander W. W. Russo

Prepared for

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Executive Summary

Two areas in which Chapter 1 can play a more active role than it has in the past are **out-of-school time** and **service integration**. A third area, **parent and family involvement**, has long been a component of Chapter 1 legislation; new research and information have enriched the discussion of the role of parents in their children's education and broadened the opportunities for schools to facilitate meaningful involvement.

Children's Use of Out-of-School Time

Understanding children's use of out-of-school time involves learning about (1) their options for spending this time, (2) their ability to make intelligent and constructive choices among those options, and (3) the direct and indirect effects of those choices on academic achievement. This topic is particularly important with regard to Chapter 1 children because their options are likely to be more limited than the options of their more advantaged peers.

A number of studies have indicated that students' activities during their non-school hours significantly affect their social development and academic success. Some of the activities in which young people participate during their out-of-school time are academic learning opportunities, such as homework and tutoring. Other types of activities, like community service programs and mentoring partnerships, offer alternative learning opportunities. Still others provide supervision or recreational opportunities. Some activities are located at and sponsored by the school, while others take place in the home. Many involve the organizations, agencies, and programs with which children and families come into contact in their communities.

Activities in which children and youth can participate during the hours school is not in session include before- and after-school programs, academic enrichment programs, youth development and community programs, school-based extracurricular activities, and community service. These programs and activities can be sponsored by schools, community organizations, government agencies, religious groups, and foundations.

Chapter 1 staff can help structure the options available to children outside the classroom, influence their choices, and facilitate their participation in chosen activities. Given the high proportion of low-income and minority children among Chapter 1 participants and the barriers that often keep these children from taking advantage of potentially productive opportunities, the efforts of Chapter 1 staff are particularly important.

The Chapter 1 program cannot and should not supplant community-based activities by duplicating or taking over existing activities. Rather, Chapter 1 staff can encourage children to take part in productive out-of-school activities, facilitate coordination among existing programs,

raise awareness among parents and community members about the educational and other benefits of community-based programs, and help ensure that students have access to the programs they want and need—at little additional cost to the Chapter 1 program. Chapter 1 can also promote coherence across children's school and non-school activities, maximize the positive influence of resources that are independent of the school, and encourage children to explore diverse opportunities to learn, excel, experience new things, and pursue their interests. Chapter 1 might include these specific policies and activities:

Build more opportunities for coordination into the current Chapter 1 program. Without making any changes to the structure, focus, or operations of their programs, Chapter 1 staff can facilitate their students' involvement in constructive out-of-school activities.

Encourage the creation of new opportunities and activities. Chapter 1 staff can facilitate planning and communication among agencies and programs in the community to avoid duplication of efforts, realize economies of scale, and use limited resources more effectively to provide as wide a range of services and activities as possible.

Offer Chapter 1 instruction during non-school hours. By offering instruction before or after school and during school vacations, the Chapter 1 program can reduce the amount of class time students miss for pullout programs and increase the options open to students for constructive out-of-school activities by providing extended learning opportunities.

Service Integration

Service integration—a strategy for ensuring that children have access to comprehensive services and that these services are delivered through collaboration among providers—can be an effective way to identify and to deal with the needs of children participating in Chapter 1, to promote the children's overall development, and to enhance their ability to succeed in school. By bringing together service providers across disciplines and agencies to address the multiple and interrelated needs of children, service integration offers a potentially efficient framework for service delivery. Service integration also can reduce duplication of services to children and families. Through participation in service integration initiatives, Chapter 1 administrators and teachers can obtain information about children's progress and development, share insights about classroom behavior and patterns of difficulty, establish better relationships with parents, and provide more coherence and consistency for children between the parts of their lives spent in school and outside.

Service integration initiatives involve collaboration across service providers in organizations and agencies—including the schools—that deal with a broad range of children's and families' needs, including primary and emergency health care, counseling, child care, nutrition, housing, transportation, employment training and job placement, and treatment for substance abuse.

The extent to which these needs are identified and addressed affects children's capacity for learning and achieving in school. Policy designed to facilitate service integration can (1) address the regulatory, legislative, and organizational barriers that face service providers attempting to integrate and (2) offer mandates and incentives in an effort to spur service integration at the local level.

These initiatives can be based in schools or in alternative locations, such as housing projects, settlement houses, community development corporations, and child care centers. Research indicates that common components of successful service integration initiatives include case management, a management information system, a needs assessment plan, communication among participants, follow-up after service delivery, evaluation, and control over a stable source of funding.

Despite widespread agreement that the activities and circumstances of the "other 91 percent" of a child's life have a significant influence on the child's ability to succeed in school, it is clear that the Chapter 1 program alone cannot deal with all the needs of eligible children. Other organizations and agencies that are already established and funded are better equipped to address some of those needs that may inhibit academic performance and development.

Service integration offers several promising ways in which Chapter 1 can go beyond the classroom to address the non-academic needs that can prevent children from reaching their academic potential. Under current law, Chapter 1 funding can fill the gaps created when streams of funds from other government and private sources are brought together into the same program. In addition, legislative changes are not required to enable Chapter 1 staff to participate in service integration efforts (assuming that only Chapter 1-eligible children participate), although changes to the law could provide encouragement and support to local Chapter 1 projects involved in such efforts.

The question for reauthorization is whether new legislation should (1) **explicitly authorize** specific roles for Chapter 1 staff, (2) **encourage** Chapter 1 staff to act in these capacities by offering financial or other incentives, or (3) **mandate** participation in service integration.

Explicitly authorize activities allowable under current law. New legislation can explicitly authorize Chapter 1 staff to engage in activities that, although already permissible under current law, are not commonly considered part of their domain. Through these activities, many of which are fairly inexpensive and logistically feasible, Chapter 1 staff can actively participate in service integration initiatives. Activities that might be included in the legislation as allowable expenditures of Chapter 1 funds include hiring a coordinator, broadening the responsibilities of Chapter 1 teachers and coordinators, hiring case managers, and developing new systems for assessing needs, tracking students' progress, and measuring outcomes.

Encourage service integration. The legislation might go further than simply reminding Chapter 1 staff what they are already authorized to do; it could encourage them to participate in

service integration. The encouragement can simply take the form of language expressly urging Chapter 1 staff to seek out opportunities to increase coordination. To send a stronger message, the legislation could include financial incentives for participation, allocating additional Chapter 1 funds for such purposes as hiring a full-time school-based service integration coordinator, providing staff development and training specifically focusing on service integration, overhauling the training and functions of Chapter 1 aides to facilitate service integration, and providing ongoing support for operational aspects of service integration.

Mandate service integration. There appears to be little support for mandating that Chapter 1 participate in service integration, because (1) Chapter 1 has neither the resources nor the background to resolve the enormous problems of the human service delivery system, (2) new service integration initiatives would be redundant in some communities where such programs already exist, and (3) effective service integration requires a great deal of planning, technical assistance, and adaptation to the unique needs of each community, making federal legislation an inappropriate lever for change.

Parent and Family Involvement

Almost all schools provide some sort of parent involvement activities. The types of activities available, however, vary tremendously in form and intensity. Among Chapter 1 schools, opportunities range from parent-teacher meetings and parent volunteer opportunities to home visiting and intensive parent training projects. Some programs include classes for parents and intergenerational learning activities. A number of schools offer parents roles in governance and decision-making.

The Hawkins-Stafford Amendments of 1988 increased parent involvement requirements; they mandate written policies, assessment of effectiveness, and sensitivity to parents' literacy level and language proficiency. While the amendments set a minimum level of required activity and prescribe certain components, state and local Chapter 1 projects have wide latitude in developing their parent involvement programs. Components that are popular among successful parent involvement programs include parent meetings, parent volunteer opportunities, parent advisory councils, parent education and training, intergenerational learning activities, home-based activities, parent/family resource centers, support services, and staff development.

Although getting parents involved in their children's education has always been a challenge for schools, particularly schools serving disadvantaged populations, many schools have developed alternative and innovative strategies that appear to increase involvement. These strategies include diversifying program offerings, providing services and activities in alternative settings, using technology, targeting specific groups of parents with appropriate activities, developing mechanisms for formal and informal communication, accommodating family differences, hiring parent involvement specialists, providing incentives and support for involvement, and obtaining support at the school, district, and state levels.

The nature of authorized activities that involve parents has changed somewhat over the history of Chapter 1. First, the emphasis on family involvement has expanded to include involvement in learning in the home, as well as communication with the school and participation in the school's governance. Second, the scope of these activities has broadened to include a focus on the family as a whole. Reauthorization will probably reflect these trends. Recent reports suggest a number of specific parent involvement activities that new legislation might encourage. This expanded menu of effective strategies can strengthen parent involvement efforts that are sometimes limited to parent advisory councils, annual meetings, and informal parent-teacher communication.

Some options for expanding Chapter 1 parent involvement, all of which are currently allowed, include broadening goals and methods to include home learning and parent education activities, providing support services, sharing information and coordinating services with early childhood education programs and other school and district parent involvement programs, providing flexible services and varied activities, hiring and training staff to conduct face-to-face parent involvement activities, accommodating differences of language and culture, and fostering local support.

The reauthorized Chapter 1 legislation might also mandate specific parent involvement efforts to promote expanded objectives and alternative strategies. For example, the new law might require joint parent-school contracts or written reports on school performance for parents and the community.

I. Introduction

> ***School consumes a surprisingly small portion of American children's lives. The young person who diligently attends class six hours a day, 180 days a year, from kindergarten through twelfth grade, will, upon reaching her eighteenth birthday, have spent just 9 percent of her hours on earth under the schoolhouse roof... What is the leverage of the 9 percent, especially in situations where the other 91 percent works at cross-purposes?... When out-of-school conditions are hostile, when other agencies don't carry their share of the responsibility, when a child's tangled problems exceed their capabilities, especially where his home situation is itself destructive—the limits of the 9 percent are fast reached (Finn, 1991, pp. 20–22).***

By the time a teacher begins the first lesson of the day, each student in her classroom has interacted with family members, or perhaps woken up alone; eaten—or not eaten—breakfast; and found a way to get to school. When the teacher dismisses the class at the end of the day, she knows that before she sees them again, the students will play, fight, and socialize with each other; find a way home, perhaps to an empty house; occupy themselves for the afternoon and evening hours; and experience needs for food, clothing, shelter, and care that may or may not be fulfilled. Some of the students will not be in their seats when she begins class the next day. Some will have completed their homework, have understood the concepts, and be ready to move ahead; others will have been unable to find a place to study or a person to answer their questions.

As children in many parts of the United States face increasingly difficult situations during the hours they are not in school, educational researchers and policy-makers at the local, state, and federal levels can make a more concerted effort to understand those situations and to deal with them in thoughtful, realistic ways. This effort should translate into consistent and, in some cases, comprehensive services that can enable children to succeed in school. As a program that targets many of the children with the most need for such services, Chapter 1 has a responsibility to demonstrate awareness of the systems and circumstances that affect participating students and to develop linkages with the other players in their lives—parents, community members and leaders, and service providers. Two areas in which Chapter 1 can play a more active role than it has in the past are **out-of-school time** and **service integration**. A third area, **parent and family involvement**, has long been a component of Chapter 1 legislation; new research and information have enriched the discussion of the role of parents in their children's education and broadened the opportunities for schools to facilitate meaningful involvement.

Drawing on research in these areas, this report addresses issues relevant to policymakers as they work to create collaborative and comprehensive systems for the care of children. The first section looks at what children and youth do in their out-of-school time, the relative benefits of different activities, and the roles of schools and communities in structuring the choices. The second section discusses the integration of education with health and other social services for children and families with multiple and interrelated needs. The third section of the report addresses parent and family involvement. Each section synthesizes recent research and experience and relates relevant findings to the current and future role of Chapter 1 in shaping "the other 91 percent" of students' time.

The programs and strategies included in this discussion apply to all types of schools and communities, but they are especially relevant for urban communities plagued by violence, poverty, and instability. Troubled urban areas are more likely to have suffered from economic hardship, the flight of wealth and industry to the suburbs, and the breakdown of traditional support systems. Because impoverished urban centers tend to have few vibrant institutions, schools find that they are virtually the only community resource capable of offering a variety of needed services and of serving as a community center. In such places, children and families are more likely to need multiple kinds of support, and the streets are more likely to be dangerous places for children to spend their out-of-school time. Parents are more likely to face obstacles—fewer educational materials at home, a history of negative experiences with school, inaccessible and inadequate services—as they attempt to become more involved in their children's education and work toward family self-sufficiency.

In urban communities with these problems, schools face an uphill battle as they attempt to improve academic achievement among their students. Recent research has indicated that all students in high-poverty schools suffer academically, regardless of whether they themselves are poor or not (Anderson, Hollinger, & Conaty, 1992; Birman et al., 1987). In addition, dropout rates are higher in poor urban schools than in suburban and rural schools. Overall, students in high-poverty, urban schools tend to have a greater need than other students for both academic enrichment and social and support services.

II. Children's Use of Out–of–School Time

Understanding children's use of out-of-school time involves learning about (1) their options for spending this time, (2) their ability to make intelligent and constructive choices among those options, and (3) the direct and indirect effects of those choices on academic achievement. This topic is particularly important with regard to Chapter 1 children because their options are likely to be more limited than the options of their more advantaged peers.

A number of studies have indicated that students' activities during their non-school hours significantly affect their social development and academic success (Funkhouser, Humphrey, Panton, & Rosenthal, 1992). Some of the activities in which young people participate during their out-of-school time are academic learning opportunities, such as homework and tutoring. Other types of activities, like community service programs and mentoring partnerships, offer alternative learning opportunities. Still others provide supervision or recreational opportunities. Some activities are located at and sponsored by the school, while others take place in the home. Many involve the organizations, agencies, and programs with which children and families come into contact in their communities.

Children and youth can benefit from out-of-school activities when their social interaction with their peers, exposure to role models, extended learning activities, and opportunities to make their own choices create positive and consistent experiences. Researchers Chaskin and Richman (1992) call on policymakers to develop and support "services that promote general development **and** those opportunities and services that are designed to respond to the specific problems of individual children in trouble" (p. 109). The researchers further state that concentrating more effort and resources on services designed to engage **all** children in productive, constructive, attractive activities will reduce the need for crisis-oriented services targeting at-risk students.

The activities and programs in which children and youth participate during non-school hours can be categorized as **primary** and **specialized** services. **Primary services** have a social, recreational, or civic orientation; examples include sports, clubs, after-school programs, youth volunteer activities, telephone "warmlines," mentoring programs, and activities held in museums, parks, and libraries. One study (Chapin Hall Center for Children, 1992) found that an affluent suburban community offered significantly more primary services, particularly through schools and parks, and a broader choice than a nearby urban community. When students and parents were surveyed about their preferences for additional activities, those in the urban community wanted more recreational activities and more out-of-school learning opportunities, while suburban students and parents were generally satisfied.

The second group of children's services—**specialized services**—includes formal, highly structured social services "designed to attend to deficits or dysfunction"; these include social and health services, mental health services, special education, juvenile justice, child welfare, and family support services. Researchers at the Chapin Hall Center for Children believe that more emphasis on primary services would reduce the need for specialized services.

Out-of-school services are also provided by (1) churches and other religious organizations, which play a major role in many communities and often have close ties to the community residents; (2) local businesses, which can offer human and financial resources (e.g., donation of materials, participation in mentoring and tutoring programs) that are often unavailable through public organizations and help raise public awareness of community efforts for children; and (3) local political and community programs that include activities specifically aimed at children and families.

School-based and community-based services offer different advantages for activities offered during non-school hours. School-sponsored extracurricular activities offer the convenience of location—students are already there. Schools are also equipped with space, materials, facilities, and supplies. Teachers willing to participate in extracurricular programs are a ready source of adult supervision and instruction; they can also ensure that the content of academic enrichment programs is consistent with school curricula. Late-running school buses can alleviate transportation problems. By enhancing and expanding their extracurricular offerings—many of which are educational to some degree—schools may become a more attractive place to be, particularly for students who are not performing well academically. Thus a strong extracurricular program not only can provide safe and enjoyable learning opportunities for students during their free time, but also can help improve student attitudes toward school in general (Stevenson, n.d.). Finally, students who experience social or academic difficulties in school may feel more comfortable in the classroom if they have other opportunities to succeed within school walls.

Whole communities, in contrast, "are the natural context for supporting children and families" (Chapin Hall Center for Children, 1992, p. 41). Programs shaped around the natural boundaries that define communities can offer more convenience and comfort than those dictated by school zones, particularly when busing programs, magnet schools, or choice programs result in school attendance areas that cut across communities. Parents may be more likely to develop trusting relationships with community-based organizations, with service providers who share ethnicity, religion, language, or culture, than with school staff. Services provided by community organizations can also complement those offered in schools, presenting children with an array of different kinds of programs and activities. Moreover, the community—whether defined in terms of geographical space, as a political unit, or in terms of a network of associations—remains a critical locus in which the development tasks of adolescents are linked to the activities of everyday life (Price, Cioci, Penner, & Trautlein, 1990, p. 36).

The following discussion examines a number of potentially educational non-school activities and programs and describes some of the advantages that elementary and secondary students may

realize through participation. It also identifies some of the social and economic factors that limit students' choices of non-school activities, particularly among poor and minority students; offers some examples of programs that have successfully overcome these barriers; and looks at the potential for the Chapter 1 program to link with these programs to create comprehensive sets of services for children. Finally, students' out-of-school uses of time are examined within an international context.

Before- and After-School Programs

The primary objective of programs set up specifically to occupy children during the hours before school opens and after classes end is to extend the number of hours that children are safe and supervised. The need for before- and after-school programs has been well documented, particularly for low-income and minority populations. The Census Bureau projects that by 1995, four out of five school-age children—a total of 35 million—will have mothers who are employed (Miller & Marx, 1990). Exhibit 1 indicates the high proportion of children who care for themselves or are cared for by siblings.

Exhibit 1
Percent of Children in Self- or Sibling Care
Three to Five Days per Week

Grade Level	Percent of Children
K-3	50
4-6	66
7-8	80

Source: Hedin, 1986.

Children in self- or sibling care during after-school hours experience greater fear (of accidents, fires, crime, etc.) and boredom, are more likely to engage in delinquent activities such as drug and alcohol use, and are more often the victims of accidents and abuse than other children. In addition, children under adult supervision in a formal program have demonstrated improved academic achievement and better attitudes toward school than their peers in self- or sibling care (Miller & Marx, 1990). Research indicates that low-income minority youth are particularly unhappy with self- or sibling-care arrangements; however, despite their desire to participate in after-school programs, they are less likely than other children to be involved in them (Hedin, 1986). The benefits of supervised before- and after-school programs, therefore, may be most significant for children from low-income families and those living in urban areas (Miller & Marx, 1990).

In 1991, 1.7 million children in grades K-8, of a total population of approximately 30 million (U.S. Department of Education, 1992b), were enrolled in 49,500 formal before- or after-school programs in the United States. The majority of these programs enroll 30 or fewer students; only 4 percent of before-school programs and 11 percent of after-school programs enroll more than 70 students.

Across all programs, public and private, the average child-to-staff ratio is approximately 9 to 1 (Seppanen et al., 1992).

Approximately 35 percent of programs primarily serve low-income children. Nevertheless, large numbers of low-income children and their parents find it difficult to overcome certain barriers to enrollment in before- and after-school programs. One such barrier is cost. Parents' fees make up approximately 80 percent of the budgets of school-based programs. Government funds, fee waivers, and scholarships are insufficient to meet the needs of all those who require assistance, so fully three-quarters of all parents pay full fees. The average hourly fee is $2.89 per hour for before-school programs and $1.96 per hour for after-school programs. For combined before- and after-school sessions, the average fee is $1.77. Although 86 percent of parents pay full fees, one-third of programs adjust their fees in accordance with parental income; 36 percent of programs report that a government agency pays the fees for at least some of the enrolled children (Seppanen et al., 1992).

The other two major barriers are location and transportation. According to the National Study of Before- and After-School Programs (Seppanen et al., 1992), programs in higher-income neighborhoods do not actively seek to enroll children who live outside their area. But, even if programs in these areas were open to low-income children, a lack of public transportation would make it difficult for most low-income parents to arrange for their children to participate.

The most common locations for before- and after-school programs are child care centers (35 percent), public schools (28 percent), and religious institutions (14 percent) (Seppanen et al., 1992). Research indicates that high-quality before- and after-school programs have curricula and activities that reflect a concern for the developmental needs of children. These also include age-appropriate activities, substantial adult supervision, low child-to-staff ratios, and the presence of trained and experienced staff members (Funkhouser et al., 1992).

Through their nationally representative survey of providers of before- and after-school care, Seppanen et al. (1992) found that the primary goal of most before- and after-school programs (75 percent) is to provide children with a safe, adult-supervised environment. Some also provide recreational opportunities, cultural and enrichment activities, programs that prevent the development of social problems, and services that enhance students' academic skills. Exhibit 2 illustrates the prevalence of different components among programs included in this national study.

Unlike many other industrialized nations, such as Sweden, France, Belgium, Norway, Finland, Britain, and the Netherlands, the United States has taken little action to eliminate barriers to adequate child care and family services for large segments of its population (Marshall, 1991). The United States continues to be among those countries that have "scored the lowest in terms of supportive family policies" (p. 55).

Exhibit 3 offers one example of an after-school program that provides a variety of services for low-income children and youth.

Exhibit 2
Percent of Before- and After-School Programs Reporting Certain Components

Component	Percent of Programs
Board or card games	80
Counseling and therapy	57
Computer games	54
Television viewing	49
Team sports	46
Skill-building sports	44
Tutoring services	35

Source: Seppanen et al., 1992.

Exhibit 3
Combining After-School Supervision with Learning Opportunities for Low-Income Children

Located in an urban, residential neighborhood in Miami, Florida, the Centro Mater Child Care and Neighborhood Center After-School Program serves approximately 250 low-income, Latino students in grades K-8. Half of the participating families pay the full fee of $15 per week, while the remainder receive government subsidies. The center is open Monday through Friday, 2:00 to 6:30 p.m.

The main goals of the program are to prevent school failure, to alleviate family-related problems, and to provide students with recreational activities that promote intellectual and physical development. Children are grouped by age and move together through a core schedule of activities that includes team and individual sports; indoor games; homework assistance and special workshops in language, mathematics, and science; individualized tutoring; cooking; musical movement; arts and crafts; and meals. The center's staff are trained in the development of recreational activities that facilitate learning among young children.

Centro Mater maintains a close relationship with the Dade County public schools. The center's teaching staff communicate with students' teachers and arrange for individual tutoring as needed. They occasionally participate in training activities hosted by the school district. Staff members regularly communicate with other social service agencies about the needs of students and their families, and they try to maximize the use of community resources by linking families with agencies that can meet their needs for counseling, literacy training, housing, and other services.

Source: Seppanen et al., 1992.

Academic Enrichment Programs and Activities

If a child is in school for 6-1/2 hours a day, spends 1 hour per day getting to and from school, sleeps for 10 hours a night, and watches T.V. for 6 hours, there is only 1/2 hour left for everything else: breakfast and dinner with the family, sports, play, homework, reading. No wonder many children aren't spending much time on homework and reading (U.S. Department of Education, 1992a).

To address this problem, some out-of-school programs are specifically designed to provide extra academic assistance and support. Some focus on homework assigned by regular classroom teachers, while others create additional learning opportunities to supplement classroom activities.

Homework

A review of the research literature on homework effectiveness substantiates the expectation that time spent on homework is related to achievement: regularly completing homework has a significant and positive association with high school grades, while spending fewer hours on homework is negatively associated with academic progress (Funkhouser et al., 1992). In addition, academic achievement may be influenced as much by the quality of homework time as by the quality of class time (Frederick & Walberg, 1980, as discussed in Turvey, 1986). The effectiveness of homework is the same regardless of the student's sex or intelligence, or the way in which achievement is measured (Cooper, 1989). This research suggests that programs designed to encourage and help students to complete their homework can improve academic achievement while providing supervision and safe care.

Homework is not always effective in promoting academic learning, however. Some studies have indicated differential effects among students depending on age, subject matter, and the nature of the homework assignment (Funkhouser et al., 1992). For example, drill-and-practice assignments have little relation to the math and reading scores of primary school students (Knorr, 1981, as discussed in Turvey, 1986). Some studies have also suggested that homework has the greatest positive impact on high school students, with less of an effect for junior high school students and even less for elementary school students (Funkhouser et al., 1992).

In the United States, the likelihood that students will complete their homework regularly diminishes as they get older (Funkhouser et al., 1992). In many instances, homework is not even assigned daily, despite the fact that regularly assigned homework has been found to be positively linked to academic achievement (Keith, 1982). In 1990, nearly one-third (31 percent) of nine-year-olds reported that they did not receive daily homework assignments (U.S. Department of Education, 1992a).

Exhibit 4 describes systems that help students complete homework assignments.

Exhibit 4
Homework Help and Home-School Communication Systems

In an effort to encourage higher rates of homework completion, many schools and school districts have introduced a variety of technology-based programs that have proved to be effective. These programs usually operate during after-school hours and often rely on various technological means to connect students with those who are able to assist them. These include voice mail or tape-recording systems that allow students to access messages from school staff, telephone services through which callers can speak with a teacher or volunteer, and cable television shows that include on-the-air or behind-the-scenes homework assistance to viewers who call in. Many students also rely on the more traditional drop-in programs staffed by teachers or volunteers in the school or public library.

Homework help systems are widely used by a cross-section of students from various racial and socioeconomic backgrounds. Students and parents who participate in these systems often are uncomfortable seeking help in face-to-face situations and appreciate the opportunity to call a hotline or voice mail system. This observation leads providers to believe that the neediest students and families benefit most from homework helping services. Feedback from students, parents, and teachers indicates that users of all types of services are pleased with program quality, and many have reported an increase in homework completion rates among participants.

As a result of significant differences among programs in their use of technology, their employment of paid or volunteer staff, the length of service hours, and the number of students involved, program budgets vary from $3,000 to $300,000 per year. Many systems are funded by local businesses, parent organizations, general school revenues, or other agencies.

Source: Leighton, 1992.

Tutoring and Mentoring

Tutoring and mentoring programs combine academic assistance with other activities, provided in the context of stable, supportive relationships. The tutoring component involves individualized, intensive academic assistance that supplements classwork, while mentoring entails a more general relationship between the mentor (who may be an older student, adult, senior citizen, or teacher) and the student.

School-based tutoring and mentoring programs have proved effective in helping students improve their grade-point averages, test scores, and overall academic performance. Other reported benefits are improved student attitudes toward particular subjects and school in general, better attendance records, and enhanced self-esteem and self-confidence (Funkhouser et al., 1992; Pringle, Anderson, Rubenstein, & Russo, 1993).

The most successful tutoring and mentoring programs have several features that appear to contribute to their effectiveness, including a screening process to ensure the quality of tutors and mentors, a system that carefully matches tutors and students, training or preparation for tutors and mentors, and ongoing monitoring and evaluation of the program. Tutors and mentors in successful programs demonstrate a clear understanding of their duties and responsibilities, and are committed to the program for a specified period of time (Reisner, Petry, & Armitage, 1990).

A study of 31 tutoring and mentoring programs funded under the Secondary Schools Basic Skills Demonstration Assistance Program found that the expenditures ranged from $98 to $7,333 per learner, with the average being $1,717 (Pringle et al., 1993). A review of 29 of the 31 programs found that the projects budgeted roughly 57 percent of project funds for personnel and benefits, 12 percent for supplies and equipment, 9 percent for contractual services, 4 percent for training, 3 percent for indirect costs, 1 percent for travel, and 14 percent for "other" expenses.

Exhibit 5 presents two examples of tutoring and mentoring programs designed for at-risk populations.

Exhibit 5
Two Approaches to Tutoring and Mentoring Programs

The "**I Have A Dream**" program captured the public imagination in 1986 when Eugene Lang promised a group of sixth-graders that all those who completed high school would receive scholarships to college. Lang established a program through which students received mentoring and support—including career counseling, academic assistance, and peer group sessions—throughout their school years. In addition, the program funded a full-time coordinator at the school to ensure that the students received the help they needed to graduate. As of 1990, some 125 "I Have A Dream" projects were in operation in 25 cities, supported largely by private contributions.

The **Las Madrinas** program matched young Latino professional women in New York City with Latino girls in junior high school. The "Madrinas"—godmothers—met with the students for two hours every two weeks over a 30-week period, offering counseling on interpersonal issues, career concerns, and academics. The program also included seminars, field trips, and workshops; detailed intake and assessment forms allowed the mentors to determine the needs and interests of their young "Ahijadas," or goddaughters.

Source: Price, Cioci, Penner, & Trautlein, 1990.

Academic Enrichment Activities Outside the United States

Elementary and secondary students in the United States spend less time in school than many of their peers in Europe and Asia (Panton & Rosenthal, 1991; Stevenson & Stigler, 1992). The quantity of time in school is not, however, the only important difference among the countries. Students and parents in other countries make very different choices about the use of non-school time; there are also differences in the relative availability and affordability of certain programs and activities within each country and in the social, cultural, economic, and political factors that influence student activities.

In their study of elementary-age children in several Chinese, Japanese, and American cities, Stevenson and Stigler (1992) noted many differences that reveal the extent to which homework, and academics in general, are emphasized more strongly in Chinese and Japanese society than in the United States. For example, they found that fifth-graders in Minneapolis spent approximately four hours per week doing homework, compared with six hours for their peers in Sendai (Japan) and 13 hours in Taipei (Taiwan). In addition, whereas homework is rarely, if ever, assigned over vacation periods in the United States, two-thirds of Japanese teachers assign homework over their six-week summer vacation.

Although they discovered little difference between the United States and Japan in terms of the amount of time that fifth-graders watch television—approximately two hours per day, according to their mothers' assessment—"Chinese and Japanese parents are more likely than American parents to make television viewing dependent on the completion of homework" (Stevenson & Stigler, 1992, p. 58). Other differences include the facts that Asian families are more likely to set aside a special space in the home for children to do homework and to purchase a homework desk and special workbooks to supplement their children's regular schoolwork. Furthermore, Asian children spend less time on household chores than do American children; Asian parents cite their children's obligation to do schoolwork as the reason. The researchers conclude that leisure activities and schoolwork tend to compete on more equal footing for a child's time in the United States than in the two Asian societies.

International differences have also been observed in the availability of reading materials in the home and in children's reading habits. A 1990 survey of U.S. nine-year-olds found that only 34 percent reported that they read books, magazines, or newspapers at least weekly, and 54 percent indicated that they "read for fun" on their own time every day (U.S. Department of Education, 1992a). The proportion of students who read for pleasure declines with age (Funkhouser et al., 1992). In addition, only 29 percent of nine-year-olds reported that they ha four or more types of reading materials available in their homes. Stevenson and Stigler (1992) found that Asian parents are more inclined to subscribe to children's magazines than are American parents, and that Asian children are more likely to read the newspaper than their American peers. The researchers also noted that several Asian cities produce newspapers that are entirely or partially targeted toward a youthful audience.

A study of education in Japan indicated that many students there seek to participate in academically enriching programs and activities outside school. Both high- and low-achieving students attend Juku, which are "a large and diverse group of private, profitmaking tutorial, enrichment, remedial, preparatory, and cram schools found throughout the country" (Leestma, August, George, & Peak, 1987, p. 11). Some Juku offer advanced classes for high-achieving students who are preparing to take difficult entrance examinations for prestigious universities; others offer remedial classes for those who have been less successful in school. Other Juku, particularly those for elementary-age students, offer non-academic enrichment courses in music and the arts. Juku offer parents "an opportunity for their children to receive additional educational and social benefits in a supervised environment after school hours" (Leestma et al., 1987, p. 13). Despite the widespread popularity of Juku, however, less than half of Japanese parents send their children to Juku. Instead, they rely on self-help literature and materials, correspondence high school, and educational radio and television to provide their children with extra help (Leestma et al., 1987).

Social and cultural factors limit the out-of-school activities available to typical Japanese teenagers (Leestma et al., 1987). In Japan, many social and recreational activities are sponsored by clubs and schools. Moreover, dating does not usually occur in Japan until after high school, and the postponement of independence and sexual activity is common throughout society (Leestma et al., 1987). Japanese youngsters are also much less mobile than their peers in the United States, in part because they must be 18 years old before receiving a driver's license. The lack of transportation helps to limit access to drugs and alcohol and to keep Japanese teenagers in school or in their homes under adult supervision. Most Japanese schools discourage or prohibit part-time employment for teenagers; only 21 percent of Japanese high school students work, compared with 63 percent of their peers in the United States (Leestma et al., 1987).

When delinquency occurs in Japan, schools, parents, and the police are all involved, and the school's response to delinquency is often more severe than that of the parents. School regulations remain operative even during non-school hours, and parents and teachers often patrol neighborhoods after school to "monitor student behavior and encourage observance of school rules" (Leestma et al., 1987, p. 46).

Youth Development and Community Programs

Programs in the United States

Programs that emphasize overall youth development are a broad and diverse category of out-of-school activities. Sponsored by a variety of agencies and organizations, these activities include creative and performing arts, recreation, counseling, and academics.

Students who participate in clubs and youth organizations can enjoy many benefits. They may experience a sense of belonging and accomplishment, meet new friends, participate in a range of

activities without the fear of failure, escape the competitiveness of school activities, find new challenges, and experience opportunities for intellectual and social growth (Funkhouser et al., 1992). There is a great demand for organized extracurricular activities, particularly among disadvantaged youngsters who have few social outlets. In a recent survey, young adolescents ages 10 to 15 were asked to identify what they wanted most during their non-school hours (Carnegie Council on Adolescent Development, 1992). Their responses included the following: safe parks and recreation centers; exciting science museums; libraries with the latest books, videos, and records; opportunities to go camping and participate in sports; long talks with trusting and trustworthy adults who know a lot about the world and who like young people; and opportunities to learn new skills.

Organizations that provide such services and learning opportunities for young people during non-school hours include national youth organizations, grass-roots/community youth development organizations, religious organizations, and adult service clubs (Carnegie Council on Adolescent Development, 1992). While similar in their general purpose, these organizations differ in their source of financial support; the number, age, and sex of the youth served; their membership guidelines; the size of their service area; and the activities and services they offer. Other groups such as sports organizations, museums, libraries, and parks and recreation departments also provide specific services and programs for youth.

Although an array of youth services are currently available, they generally do not meet the needs of impoverished youngsters, particularly those over the age of 12 or 13. Fee-for-service policies, insufficient funding, and ineffective outreach strategies often block participation among this group. In addition, the delivery of youth services in most communities "suffers from a lack of communication among agencies as well as inadequate coordination and integration of services" (Carnegie Council on Adolescent Development, 1992).

Exhibit 6 presents examples of successful and innovative community youth programs sponsored by national youth organizations, community-based organizations, religious groups, museums, public libraries, and parks and recreation departments.

Exhibit 6
Successful Community-Based Youth Programs

Program and Sponsor	Location	Objective	Components	Notes
In-School Scouting Boy Scouts and Girl Scouts	Los Angeles	To offer constructive activities for low-income children	After-school activities on school campuses, drop-in centers for teenage girls, scouting activities	More than 6,000 children have enrolled in after-school scouting programs.
Public housing-based youth programs Boys Clubs and Girls Clubs	Housing projects nationwide	To provide low-income youth with safe alternatives to violence and crime	Homework assistance, tutoring, arts and crafts, small-group activities, sports	Housing authorities donate facilities, equipment, and utilities. A formal evaluation by Schinke, Cole, and Orlandi (1991) found drops in crime rates (13 percent) and drug activity (22 percent) among youth in sites with active clubs.
Youth Development, Inc. (YDI) A community-based organization	Albuquerque	To support families by responding to the needs of local neighborhoods	Summer jobs; counseling on substance abuse, gangs, and AIDS; sports and recreation; dropout prevention; GED preparation; scholarship assistance	Founded in 1968 in one site, the program now operates in 13 locations. In 1991, YDI had an annual budget of $3.6 million.
Project SPIRIT Congress of National Black Churches		To respond to the spiritual, economic, and social needs of black youth, particularly low achievers	Prayer and meditation, tutoring, life skills, parent education, pastoral counseling, cultural and ethnic activities	Program activities are held in church facilities.
YouthALIVE DeWitt Wallace/Readers' Digest Fund	Brooklyn, New York	To increase participation among low-income youth in science and youth programs	Museum-based activities, including performances and workshops on creative arts; employment for older children in the museum	The YouthALIVE program is a four-year, $7.1 million initiative. The Brooklyn program was one of the first grantees.
The Library Services and Construction Act and the Bay Area Libraries	San Francisco	To expand public library services to adolescents	After-school tutoring and homework centers staffed by high school and college students and senior citizens; a teen advisory council suggests new library materials and plans youth forums on topical issues	Each participating library conducted a needs assessment to determine the specific needs of local youth.
City Streets Program Phoenix Parks and Recreation Program	Phoenix	To involve youth in planning and implementing activities	Rap sessions, teen councils, career fairs, health fairs, drug education, fashion shows, sports, hobbies, and recreation	The recreation department has opened its centers daily for youth programs; some summer programs are available as late as 1:00 a.m.

Sources: Carnegie Council on Adolescent Development, 1992; Schinke, Cole, & Orlandi,

Programs Outside the United States

From a survey of community-based services for adolescents between the ages of 10 and 15 in Britain, Australia, Germany, Sweden, and Norway, Sherraden (1992) concludes that access to voluntary-sector youth services in the United States is uneven compared with access in these countries. Specifically, he found that the United States expends relatively little effort to provide community-based services to poor and minority youth. In addition, he found that there is much more coordination between the public and voluntary sectors in other countries.

The United States has a vibrant voluntary sector but in terms of planning and coordination, it is largely independent of the public sector. In contrast, youth policies in all five countries in this study involve explicit public-voluntary cooperation and coordination to an extent unknown in the United States. Coordination occurs through both law and organizational structure (Sherraden, 1992, p. ix).

Along with advocating more coordination between youth development programs and educational programs in the United States, Sherraden notes that U.S. policies toward youth emphasize remediation, whereas the policies and programs of many other countries emphasize overall development. Furthermore, unlike the United States, these countries tend to view community-based youth development as a means by which they can improve the nation's "human capital" (Sherraden, 1992).

On the topic of financing, Sherraden observed that many other countries use a fixed percentage of educational funds or other public expenditures to provide a reliable and stable source of funding for community-based youth development programs. They are willing to absorb this cost because they "recognize that formal schooling is not a sufficient format for individual education. There is too much to learn and schooling cannot cover all of it" (Sherraden, 1992, p. 41).

Some national youth-serving organizations, particularly those that serve a disproportionate number of middle- and upper-middle-class youth who are able to pay for service, are financially secure (Carnegie Council on Adolescent Development, 1992). In addition to service fees, they rely on affiliate dues, revenue from the sale of various products, government funding, and charitable contributions. Other organizations, however, often struggle to find new financial resources as they try to extend their services to needier young people. For example, only 25 percent of grass-roots youth organizations operate with annual budgets of more than $25,000. Funding sources for these organizations, which often serve low-income youth, include government grants (50 percent), federated campaigns and fundraising events (16 percent), other charitable income (16 percent), and fees-for-service (15 percent), as reported by the Carnegie Council on Adolescent Development

School-Based Extracurricular Activities

Activities in the United States

A vast number of children and youth participate in school-sponsored extracurricular activities and sports. Some studies have indicated a link between extracurricular activities and certain positive outcomes and behaviors among students, particularly for students from low socioeconomic backgrounds (Funkhouser et al., 1992). In a study of the development of reading skills, Siegal (1989) found a negative correlation between students' overall reading achievement and their involvement in part-time jobs, watching television, and socializing with friends. However, the study indicated a positive correlation between reading achievement and involvement in organized extracurricular activities such as academic clubs, sports, student government, band, and special lessons. The correlation appeared to be greater among students from lower socioeconomic backgrounds, although all social class subgroups and both sexes benefited (Siegal, 1989).

Each year, approximately 35 million youth between the ages of 6 and 18 participate in sports programs sponsored by schools, clubs, agencies, and community recreation organizations (Carnegie Council on Adolescent Development, 1992). Research on the effects of participation in school-sponsored sports programs has produced inconclusive and conflicting reports. Some studies have demonstrated lower academic performances among school athletes (Landers & Landers, 1978); others have reported that athletic participation is associated with higher grades (Soltz, 1986), enhanced self-esteem, and higher educational aspirations (Rehberg & Schafer, 1967).

Although the relationship between athletics and achievement is unclear, there is some evidence that students can be motivated to achieve academically through their athletic experiences (Funkhouser et al., 1992). Some organizations use athletics as the "hook" by which they get students involved in academic and other activities. The Police Athletic League (PAL), with more than 500 local chapters nationwide, targets youth who are at risk of becoming involved in criminal activities by sponsoring a variety of sports and recreation activities (Carnegie Council on Adolescent Development, 1992). Ultimately, PAL seeks to improve the academic skills of its members and to reduce the school dropout rate.

The Lynchburg Public Schools in Virginia introduced a mandatory 50-minute study hall three times per week for student athletes who had a grade-point average (GPA) below 2.0 during the previous semester. Teachers provided tutorial assistance and maintained an atmosphere conducive to homework and studying. As a result, more than 62 percent of athletes who participated in the study hall earned a higher GPA than in the previous semester, and 50 percent earned their highest GPA ever (Jones, 1986).

Although youth have many opportunities to become involved in organized sports, a survey revealed that only seven out of 17 national sports programs make special provisions for low-income youth (Carnegie Council on Adolescent Development, 1992). Club sports tend to

operate on a for-profit and fee-for-service basis; interscholastic and intramural programs are sponsored by schools; and agency-sponsored programs often depend on adult service clubs such as the Lions Club and Kiwanis or on national youth organizations like the YMCA, Boy Scouts, and Boys and Girls Clubs to provide financial assistance.

Activities Outside the United States

In a recent study of extracurricular school-based programs in five East Asian countries, Stevenson (n.d.) highlights specific programmatic features that appear to have contributed to the strength of these programs. Exhibit 7 presents information about extracurricular programs in Hong Kong, Japan, mainland China, Singapore, and Taiwan.

Community Service

One type of out-of-school activity that is rapidly gaining popularity is community service. Some schools have begun to require community service in order for students to graduate. In addition, several past and pending federal initiatives focus on strategies to encourage students to engage in community service on either a mandatory or a voluntary basis.

Community service programs are more likely to be found in private schools, large schools, and suburban schools. In general, relatively few students participate in these programs. In fact, less than 30 percent of high schools offered community service programs in the mid-1980s, and two-thirds of all programs involved only 50 or fewer students per high school (Newmann & Rutter, 1986). Students who participated in community service provided less than two hours of service per week in over half of the programs.

Research indicates that students who are involved in community service enjoy many rewards. Surveys and anecdotal accounts of service programs have identified numerous academic, social, and psychological benefits for students who participate in community service programs: a sense of social and personal responsibility; a sense of efficacy; high self-esteem; a sense of social competence; low levels of alienation and isolation; few disciplinary problems; high reading and math achievement scores (among those who participated in peer tutoring programs); low rates of drug use (among those who participated in drug prevention programs that employed peer counseling); and factual knowledge and skills, such as counseling and problem-solving, that are directly related to experiences in community service. "Service learning" has also demonstrated the potential to enhance academic achievement and social development among at-risk students and to reduce and prevent a variety of self-destructive behaviors (Funkhouser et al., 1992).

In the absence of certain program features and careful program planning, the performance of community service does not, however, guarantee desired outcomes (Funkhouser et al., 1992). Programs must be related to specific goals, and program participants should be able to share their

Exhibit 7
International Models of School-Based Extracurricular Programs

Country	Goals	Activities	Organizational and Administrative Features
Hong Kong	• To reduce unoccupied free time available to students • To counterbalance demanding academic schedules in schools	Academics, arts, hobbies, public service, sports	• Independent committees representing education, social welfare, and social services govern activities. • Activities are offered before and after school and on Saturdays. • Jockey club sponsors horse races that generate additional funds for extracurricular activities, • Costs to students vary by activity, but most are low cost or free. • Colleges of education require students to take a course in extracurricular activities. • A teacher is assigned to oversee or manage program; classroom teachers are responsible for leading individual activities.
Japan	• To foster creativity, cooperation, and self-direction • To teach hygiene and comportment • To foster healthy and safe behavior • To establish a spirit of public service	Academics, hobbies, sports, arts and culture	• Extracurricular activities are of two types: Kurabu, which meet during school hours, and bu, which meet after school and in the summer. • Non-academic Kurabu activities are required and must be taken for the entire academic year. Bu are optional; participation enhances employment prospects as well as entry to universities. • A small fee is charged for both activities. • Supplementary academic courses are offered during vacations.
Mainland China (Beijing)	• To foster moral, aesthetic, and physical development • To provide supervision for students while parents work • To supplement academic knowledge	Academics, arts and crafts, public service, sports, art and culture, hobbies	• One teacher oversees and manages the program; other teachers supervise each activity. • School authorities, class committees, or government-related committees organize some activities. • "Olympic Schools" offer classes for academically advanced students; remedial classes are available for students needing extra assistance. • Week-long camps are held during winter and summer vacations; the camps provide those who qualify with opportunities to travel, engage in sports, and attend educational classes. • Activities are offered after school and on Sundays.
Singapore	• To develop human resources • To teach sports and other skills • To cultivate social values • To promote ethnic harmony • To provide supplementary and remedial academic assistance	Clubs and societies, music and cultural activities, sports and games, uniformed groups, dance and drama	• Teachers plan, organize, and implement programs; teaching schedules are adjusted to accommodate these responsibilities. • Students earn points for length of participation and level of skill achieved; points increase their chances of admission to pre-university courses and to employment after graduation. • Activities are free, except when a specialist from outside the school must be hired. • Activities are offered before and after school and on Saturdays.
Taiwan	• To enhance moral values • To stimulate interest in learning • To provide interesting leisure time activities • To provide remedial help for students	Academics, arts and crafts, music, recreation, public service, sports	• Activities are funded by the Bureau of Education. • All extracurricular programs are evaluated each year; teachers, principals, and schools may earn awards for excellence. • Students are motivated to participate through frequent competitions between classes and schools in all types of activities; students are also encouraged to participate in national and international competitions. • A teacher and a student leader are assigned to organize and implement each activity. • Activities are offered before and after school and on Saturdays.

Source: Stevenson, n.d.

experiences with others (Conrad & Hedin, 1989). For example, if a program identifies the development of civic responsibility as its primary goal, activities such as serving homeless people in a soup kitchen may be beneficial to the participants. In contrast, if the program's purpose is to expose students to various career opportunities, such an assignment may have limited value (Funkhouser et al., 1992). The inclusion of a seminar or similar opportunity to share ideas about the experience is also likely to enhance learning (Conrad & Hedin, 1989).

Despite the many potential benefits of community service, few public schools offer students the chance to participate in it. The most persistent barriers to participation are cost, scheduling and transportation difficulties; problems in locating enough suitable placements; and a shortage of teachers or other adults who are trained in the service-learning approach to education (Conrad & Hedin, 1989; Rutter & Newmann, 1989).

Possible Roles for Chapter 1 with Regard to Out-of-School Time

As the preceding findings indicate, children and youth can choose from a variety of activities during the hours they are not in school. Chapter 1 staff can help structure the options available to children outside the classroom, influence their choices, and facilitate their participation in chosen activities. Given the high proportion of low-income and minority children among Chapter 1 participants and the barriers that often keep these children from taking advantage of potentially productive opportunities, the efforts of Chapter 1 staff are particularly important.

The Chapter 1 program cannot and should not supplant community-based activities by duplicating or taking over existing activities. Rather, Chapter 1 staff can encourage children to take part in productive out-of-school activities, facilitate coordination among existing programs, raise awareness among parents and community members about the educational and other benefits of community-based programs, and help ensure that students have access to the programs they want and need—at little additional cost to the Chapter 1 program. Chapter 1 can also promote coherence across children's school and non-school activities, maximize the positive influence of resources that are independent of the school, and encourage children to explore diverse opportunities to learn, excel, experience new things, and pursue their interests.

Coordination with other public organizations, community initiatives, private agencies or businesses, religious institutions, and the like can yield benefits for Chapter 1 teachers and students. For example, transiency is a major problem in poor communities, but research indicates that transient families often stay within the same community but cross attendance area boundaries. Coordination between housing revitalization efforts and schools can help ensure that highly transient families with school-age children get on the list for available housing and that children receive waivers when necessary to keep them in the same school.

Chapter 1 might include these specific policies and activities:

Build more opportunities for coordination into the current Chapter 1 program. Without making any changes to the structure, focus, or operations of their programs, Chapter 1 staff can facilitate their students' involvement in constructive out-of-school activities by engaging in activities such as the following:

- Creating a resource directory of all extracurricular programs and activities available for children in the community which includes information such as eligible age group and sex, costs, schedule, and location;
- Including discussion of community activities and events as a component of Chapter 1 parent conferences;
- Ensuring that classroom teachers understand and support participation in community activities, including culturally or ethnically specific activities;
- Providing lists of Chapter 1-eligible children to sponsors of community activities (e.g., museum and parks personnel in charge of children's activities, youth club directors, community service clearinghouses); and
- Incorporating the out-of-school experiences of students into their reading, writing, and oral language exercises in the classroom.

Encourage the creation of new opportunities and activities. Chapter 1 staff can facilitate planning and communication among agencies and programs in the community to avoid duplication of efforts, realize economies of scale, and use limited resources more effectively to provide as wide a range of services and activities as possible. Here are some examples:

- inviting representatives of public and private sponsors of community activities and events to come to the school to speak with students about participation and to inform teachers about available activities;
- developing staff training designed to increase awareness of and sensitivity toward community organizations and activities in which children participate;
- organizing extracurricular activities, in conjunction with community agencies, that build on staff and parent interests and talents, such as joint field trips/camping trips; career/college fairs and guest speakers; coordination of complementary programs (e.g., one providing math assistance and another targeting language arts); intergroup sports competitions, math bowls, and spelling bees; exhibitions or interschool competitions for Chapter 1 students in art, poetry recitation, music, chess, sewing, and the like;
- working with community leaders, activists, and organizers to increase communication with the school and track trends in family mobility, community tensions, and other issues that affect community residents;
- finding ways to make school facilities and equipment available to house and conduct after-school and evening programs sponsored by other organizations;

- organizing student groups (e.g., teen councils) to survey peers to determine after-school activity needs; students and teachers could then present the results to relevant organizations, such as the recreation department, the public library, Boy and Girl Scouts, Girls and Boys Clubs, and religious groups; and

- developing an organized community advertising campaign that encourages students to avoid gang involvement and steers them towards other programs and clubs.

Offer Chapter 1 instruction during non-school hours. By offering instruction before or after school and during school vacations, the Chapter 1 program can achieve two goals:

- reducing the amount of class time students miss for pullout programs; and

- increasing the options open to students for constructive out-of-school activities by providing extended learning opportunities.

Some districts around the country have expanded their Chapter 1 programs to offer instruction when school is not in session. Additional research on Chapter 1 and out-of-school time might focus on these programs, looking into the design and implementation of programs that appear to be successful in improving both academic achievement and the quality of out-of-school time.

III. Service Integration

A program that delivers services designed solely to treat learning problems is unlikely to alleviate the other adverse circumstances in the child's life. On the other hand, a service provider with the knowledge, skill, and authority to address a family's broad needs could secure ongoing health care for the child, help the family apply for food stamps, refer the parents for substance abuse or mental health treatment, and encourage an older sibling to participate in a tutoring program and other positive youth activities. [The service provider] could also provide counseling to help family members develop and sustain more supportive personal relationships (National Commission on Children, 1992, p. 312).

The out-of-school time of disadvantaged children and youth is likely to involve interactions with society's institutions for assisting the poor, including agencies that provide (or provide referrals to) health care, welfare aid, mental health care, housing assistance, substance abuse assistance, and the like. Just as the voluntary and public sector of primary services suffers from a lack of coordination and comprehensiveness, the specialized service delivery system is notoriously fragmented and difficult for children and families to negotiate. A widely discussed strategy to address these inefficiencies is service integration.

Service integration initiatives involve collaboration across service providers in organizations and agencies—including the schools—that deal with a broad range of children's and families' needs, including primary and emergency health care, counseling, child care, nutrition, housing, transportation, employment training and job placement, and treatment for substance abuse. The extent to which these needs are identified and addressed affects children's capacity for learning and achieving in school. Policy designed to facilitate service integration can (1) address the regulatory, legislative, and organizational barriers that face service providers attempting to integrate and (2) offer mandates and incentives in an effort to spur service integration at the local level.

According to a recent account of the founding of Head Start, the failure of the Chapter 1 program to recognize the growing importance of extracurricular and non-academic services has kept Chapter 1 students from achieving as much success as the children enrolled in Head Start programs: "The primary Chapter 1 strategy has been to offer more instructional time to low-achieving students. But without the comprehensive services required to put a child in a position to benefit from extra instruction, attempts to drill children on academic skills are an empty exercise" (Zigler & Muenchow, 1992, p. 239).

Service integration—a strategy for ensuring that children have access to comprehensive services and that these services are delivered through collaboration among providers—can be an effective way to identify and to deal with the needs of children participating in Chapter 1, to promote the children's overall development, and to enhance their ability to succeed in school. By bringing together service providers across disciplines and agencies to address the multiple and interrelated needs of children, service integration offers a potentially efficient framework for service delivery. Service integration also can reduce duplication of services to children and families. Through participation in service integration initiatives, Chapter 1 administrators and teachers can obtain information relevant to children's educational progress and development, share insights about classroom behavior and patterns of difficulty, establish better relationships with parents, and provide more coherence and consistency for children between the parts of their lives spent in school and outside.

Components of Successful Service Integration

A fundamental distinction between service integration efforts, developed by researchers at the Bush Center on Child Development and Social Policy, separates initiatives with a **service-oriented approach** from those with a **system-oriented approach.** System-oriented programs aim to develop new service delivery structures and approaches, create new services, and eliminate conflicting program requirements, whereas service-oriented initiatives concentrate on linking clients with existing services through such methods as case management and collocation of service providers. Research conducted by the U.S. General Accounting Office (1992) found that system-oriented programs rarely achieve their goals of broad, systemic change because they encounter insurmountable barriers. Service-oriented projects tend to be more promising, particularly as short-term strategies in situations where limited resources are already stretched thin.

There is fairly broad agreement in the literature (Center for the Future of Children staff, 1991; Kahn & Kamerman, 1992; Kirst, Koppich, & Kelley, 1992; Marzke, Chimerine, Morrill, & Marks, 1992; Morrill, Reisner, Chimerine, & Marks, 1991) regarding the important characteristics of service integration initiatives:

- Programs should focus on children and families rather than on the ease of organization or service delivery. Such a focus means locating service providers in one place, making intake and service delivery convenient for families, and making families feel comfortable and welcome.
- Prevention is better than remediation.
- Integrated programs should reflect a tangible and sustained commitment from a broad array of participants, representing as many specialized areas as possible. Participants should be involved in planning, implementation, and evaluation.
- An extensive planning period is almost always essential.

In the literature on service integration, eight components consistently appear as fundamental to a redesigned service delivery system. Exhibit 9 describes each component and suggests possible roles for Chapter 1 as a participant in a service integration initiative.

Exhibit 9
Eight Components of Service Integration and Roles for Chapter 1

Component	*Roles for Chapter 1*
1. Case management: An individual service provider is assigned responsibility for each client, including intake, supervision of service delivery, and follow-up.	To provide case managers, to participate in case conferences, and to train case managers
2. Coordinated intake: Clients can reach all the services they need through a single contact with a service provider who has authority to refer clients to any needed service.	To refer families to intake access points, to conduct intake at events for parents, to hire an intake coordinator, and to provide intake facilities
3. Management information system: A computerized system tracks data and keeps all records.	To provide the system and to combine, share, and match data with other service providers
4. Needs assessment: A service provider conducts a systematic assessment of all the needs of each family member.	To provide information on educational assessment and to refer families to needs assessment specialists
5. Communication: All participants in the service integration initiative are kept informed of all client interactions, diagnoses, problems, and evaluations.	To coordinate communication and to link parents to information and resources
6. Follow-up: Service providers ensure that clients received the prescribed services and act on any outstanding needs.	To track students' interactions with other service providers
7. Evaluation: Project staff evaluate both the process and outcomes of the integrated service system using a variety of qualitative and quantitative, client-centered measures.	To accept non-academic outcomes as indicators of progress and improvement
8. Funding and financial control: Project staff have decision-making authority and a stable source of funding.	To fund a coordinator, to assign permanent aides, and to provide funds for training, materials, and facilities

Sources: Center for the Future of Children staff, 1992; Kahn & Kamerman, 1992; Kirst, Koppich, & Kelley, 1992; Marzke, Chimerine, Morrill, & Marks, 1992; Morrill, Reisner, Chimerine, & Marks, 1991.

Service Integration Based in Schools: Benefits and Barriers

In many ways, the school is a logical locale for service integration programs:

- The goals of educational institutions and service integration programs are somewhat consistent. For instance, because readiness for school and improved academic achievement are two desired outcomes of service integration, schools contribute directly to their own mission by helping ensure students receive all the services they need.
- Schools have both a legal mandate to serve all children and an established infrastructure for service delivery, along with the institutional capacity to manage large numbers of people, organize support services, and deal with the needs of special populations (Wedemeyer & Cornejo, 1992).
- In some high-poverty communities with insufficient and inadequate services and high proportions of dysfunctional families, schools may be the only institutions in the community that can organize and sustain an integrated effort. For children, school may be the only safe haven that offers opportunities to succeed.
- At the most basic level, schools are the one place where all children gather, creating access unmatched by other organizations.

Exhibit 10 describes some popular models of school-based service integration.

School personnel sometimes balk at the idea of basing service integration projects in the schools, with good reason. Schools, already financially strapped and often overwhelmed by the challenges they face, cannot be expected to take on more responsibility without proper staff training and adequate funding. School-based integration initiatives must be careful to ensure that schools are not asked to shoulder more of the burden for children's care without an accompanying increase in resources, personnel, and support. Paul Hill (1992) notes that social service programs based in schools often corner the attention and interest of school administrators at the expense of the academic program; "the result for the school as a whole is that there is no mechanism for setting priorities, establishing collaboration [among teachers], and evaluating overall performance" (p. 135).

Insufficient resources are not the only barrier to school-based service integration. Schools that have no authority to make decisions affecting school-building operations may have a hard time integrating a program that has far-reaching objectives. New York State's Community Schools program presents an example. The New York state education agency (SEA) provided grants to schools to deliver a variety of social and health services in school buildings. The initial enthusiasm for the program faded when the number of participating schools unexpectedly increased, leaving each school with far less money than promised. In addition, the SEA's support for integration evaporated under pressure to improve academic outcomes. These midstream changes in goals and funding levels caused confusion and frustration for schools, and illustrate the problems that arise when schools are subject to external decision-making in this area (Children's State Communities Aid Association, 1992).

In addition, parents may not be willing to come to the school to enroll their children or participate in services themselves; this is particularly true of parents who have had negative experiences with school. Similarly, not all children feel safe or welcome at school; children for whom school is a threatening or frightening environment might feel more comfortable talking with service providers based elsewhere. In communities where children are bused to school or where magnet schools or redistricting have blurred district lines, school attendance areas may not correspond to communities, and programs shaped around those boundaries might actually contribute to the breakdown of community ties (Chaskin & Richman, 1992). Moreover, resistance from teachers and administrators can sabotage a new program based in the school. Finally, even where schools are willing to house programs, space may simply not be available.

Service Integration Based in Settings Other Than Schools

Alternative settings offer a variety of advantages.

- Parents who feel isolated or alienated by schools may be more apt to take advantage of the services offered by an integrated program that is based in an alternative location—a community center, church or other religious organization, residential area, ethnic or cultural center, nonprofit service organization, and the like. These other organizations may have already earned the trust of community residents and garnered the expertise and experience to identify and serve their needs effectively.

- Programs based outside schools are less likely to cause suspicion among teachers and administrators who fear they will drain resources away from instruction; schools will also be under less pressure to make up for funding deficits.

- Community-based programs can build on the natural strengths of communities—ties among neighbors, cultural and ethnic pride, civic and arts events, and public facilities. Community settings may lend themselves to collaborative governance more naturally than schools, which may impose "institutional rigidity" on service delivery systems (Chaskin & Richman, 1992).

- Community agencies tend to provide a broader array of social and family support services in a more individualized and responsive manner than do schools (Wedemeyer & Cornejo, 1992).

Exhibit 11 presents some common models of service integration based in locations other than schools.

Service integration programs that are based in schools might still benefit from having information and access points located in other settings. For example, staff posted in shopping malls, health clinics, child care centers, and housing projects can reach parents who might not be aware of new programs and enroll them and their children in program services. Also, service providers from programs based elsewhere can talk to parents at back-to-school nights, student performances, and parent-teacher conferences to provide information about services.

Exhibit 10
Models of School-Based Service Integration

Model	Description	Example
Case management	• All school-based and other service providers dealing with students participate in case conferences. • Families are referred to services located away from the school. • Case managers follow through on service plans to make sure children receive services.	**Kentucky Integrated Delivery System.** Representatives of health, mental health, juvenile justice, Boys and Girls Clubs, United Way, and schools meet to discuss individual families. Case managers and home-school liaison personnel coordinate meetings and oversee service delivery.
Colocation of services	• Staff from agencies and organizations outside the school are assigned to a service center at the school. • Caseloads are reassigned and aligned with school attendance areas. • Facilities for service delivery are created at school site. • Other agencies contribute resources on an ongoing and stable basis.	**School-Based Youth Services Program.** Through this New Jersey program, centers located at or near schools offer recreational activities, counseling, health services, and other services for adolescents in an effort to reduce pregnancy and school dropout rates.
Extended hours of school operation	• School remains open before and after school, on weekends, and during school vacations to provide continuous services for children and families.	A partnership between an intermediate school and a child welfare agency in New York City keeps the school open in the afternoons, on Saturdays, and over the summer to provide tutoring, recreational programs, medical services, assistance in handling substance abuse and pregnancy, legal information, and GED courses. The school contributes facilities and the operating costs necessary to keep the building open, while the Children's Aid Society, funded through a combination of government categorical programs, foundation funding, and private donations, runs the programs.

Sources: Kahn & Kamerman, 1992; Morrill, Reisner, Chimerine, & Marks, 1991; National Health/Education Consortium,

Exhibit 11
Models of Community-Based Service Integration

Setting	Description	Example
Housing projects	Services are based in residential housing project with participation by housing authority and relocation of service providers to the site.	In **Omaha, Nebraska**, the public housing authority and the public school system have teamed up to increase school attendance and to provide support for children living in a housing project. Services include recreational opportunities, exposure to positive role models and career opportunities, extended learning time opportunities in a study center located in the project, home visits by project staff to help meet children's basic needs, incentives for school attendance and achievement and strong sanctions for absenteeism, and a health and social service center with case-managed comprehensive services. Funding comes from reallocation of public funds and a minimal cable television tax on residents of the housing project.
Settlement houses	Services are offered from neighborhood sites that have usually been part of the community for decades.	Located in the Dorchester section of Boston for nearly a century, the **Federated Dorchester Houses** provide comprehensive services for families on a walk-in basis, from basic needs to child care, recreation, and counseling. A central office manages grants and contracts, allocating funds to each house, where local staff decide how to spend it to meet the needs of the residents in that area.
Community development corporations	Local organizations formed to promote economic development also provide social and support services for residents.	**Bethel New Life** serves a one-square-mile area on Chicago's west side where the housing stock has been seriously depleted. Programs focus on economic development of community, rehabilitation of housing, and creation of jobs. To support these goals, families who agree to participation receive comprehensive social and support services.
Child care centers	Service providers reach mothers of young children to offer a broad range of support services.	The **Family Futures** program in Denver serves 120 families through a federal Comprehensive Child Development Program grant. Services provided on site include health services and screenings for children and parents; adult education and job training courses; parenting instruction; substance abuse counseling and treatment; child care and education for infants, toddlers, and school-age children; and nutrition instruction.

Sources: Marzke, Chimerine, Morrill, & Marks, 1992; Hubbell et al., 1991.

Exhibit 12 describes a policy initiative in France designed to coordinate service delivery to students at risk of school failure and their families.

Exhibit 12
An International Example of Service Integration:
Education Priority Zones

The French government has created Education Priority Zones (ZEPs) to improve academic achievement. Zones are defined by one or more of the following risk factors: poverty, large numbers of immigrants, many divorced or other single-parent families, high dropout rates, high unemployment rates, an inner-city or isolated location, and few cultural and recreational facilities. In 1990, 552 ZEPs encompassed 6,450 schools, primarily in urban areas.

Each zone typically includes preschools, primary schools, and high schools; teams of teachers and other staff members design projects and submit three-year plans that define educational goals, identify means for reaching these goals, and specify ways of evaluating success. The zones operate within a wider social-urban development program called Neighborhood Social Development (DSQ), which facilitates the integration of all government-provided services (e.g., housing, employment, child and maternal health). Both ZEPs and DSQs receive priority government assistance and resources for providing integrated education, urban renewal, and social support services for residents.

ZEP plans focus on (1) improving reading, writing, and language development; (2) enriching the living and learning environment (e.g., rehabilitation of housing, provision of cultural and recreational facilities, improved police services); (3) enhancing students' out-of-school activities during vacations and after school; (4) improving student motivation and excitement about learning; (5) improving vocational guidance; and (6) promoting efforts to improve the organization of learning, school time, and school space.

Source: Best, n.d.

Possible Roles for Chapter 1 in Service Integration Initiatives

Despite widespread agreement that the activities and circumstances of the "other 91 percent" of a child's life have a significant influence on the child's ability to succeed in school, it is clear that the Chapter 1 program alone cannot deal with all the needs of eligible children. Other organizations and agencies that are already established and funded are better equipped to address some of those needs that may inhibit academic performance and development.

Chapter 1 teachers and other resource teachers have a window on their students' lives that qualifies them to contribute to integrated service efforts. They can tell other service providers about their students' behavior patterns in a classroom environment, interaction with peers, and problems that become apparent in an instructional setting. In addition, participation in case

conferences can inform Chapter 1 staff about problems in children's lives that may be holding them back academically; Chapter 1 staff can then develop instructional plans accordingly.

Nevertheless, service integration offers several promising ways in which Chapter 1 can go beyond the classroom to address the non-academic needs that can prevent children from reaching their academic potential. Under current law, Chapter 1 funding can fill the gaps created when streams of funds from other government and private sources are brought together into the same program (Kirst, Koppich, & Kelley, 1992). In addition, legislative changes are not required to enable Chapter 1 staff to participate in service integration efforts (assuming that only Chapter 1-eligible children participate), although changes to the law could provide encouragement and support to local Chapter 1 projects involved in such efforts.

Whatever the legislative course chosen, there are compelling reasons to make schoolwide project sites the primary target for service integration, a strategy Kirst, Koppich, and Kelley (1992) and others have advocated. These high-poverty schools serve populations of children and families most likely to experience the type of multiple, serious problems that service integration is designed to address. While service integration has the potential to heighten the effectiveness of Chapter 1, it is a strategy that entails considerable risk. True integration involves bringing together established organizations with entrenched missions and constituencies and significantly changing the way they function. Far more complex than simply adding together different services, successful service integration initiatives actually create an entirely new system. Although there are a number of state and local experiments under way, the concept of service integration has still not been fully and rigorously tested, particularly with regard to appropriate and feasible roles for Chapter 1. Research and experience to date suggest that a federally funded demonstration authorization that includes a serious evaluation component is probably the best way to proceed in this area.

The Final Report of the National Assessment of Chapter 1 (U.S. Department of Education, 1993) discusses the option of designating "Priority Schools" as eligible for federal resources and waivers. Extra assistance to these high-poverty schools through coordination of community services and resources would focus on helping all students achieve the National Education Goals. The Priority Schools option would give practitioners and policy-makers an opportunity to explore the potential, the risks, the costs, and the benefits of this approach before mandating its adoption. In order to serve as an informative and useful reflection of the potential of service integration, however, such a project must be fully funded, from planning to implementation to evaluation. As Edelman and Radin (1991) point out, "If there is a desire to demonstrate what can be done in one neighborhood on a concentrated basis, enough resources had better be available to make a difference" (p. 7). Past examples of large-scale social programs that failed to meet expectations (e.g., Model Cities) stand as testimony to the futility of launching promising programs without reliable and adequate resources.

Assuming that new legislation is proposed, some major questions for reauthorization are whether new legislation should (1) **explicitly authorize** specific roles for Chapter 1 staff, (2) **encourage**

Chapter 1 staff to act by offering financial or other incentives, or (3) **mandate** participation in service integration. Each option is discussed in turn.

Explicitly authorize activities allowable under current law. New legislation can explicitly authorize Chapter 1 staff to engage in activities that, although already permissible under current law, are not commonly considered part of their domain. Through these activities, many of which are fairly inexpensive and logistically feasible, Chapter 1 staff can actively participate in service integration initiatives. The following activities might be included in the legislation as allowable expenditures of Chapter 1 funds:

- **Hire a coordinator**. Using Chapter 1 funds, principals or Chapter 1 staff can hire a staff person to coordinate service integration activities. Responsibilities might include identifying other organizations and agencies dealing with the same populations, conducting surveys of parents and service providers to select the appropriate services, organizing case conferences, working with liaison personnel from other agencies, ensuring that the families who need service are referred to appropriate service providers, overseeing communications among service providers, and ensuring that families actually receive the services planned. Experienced Chapter 1 staff members can be effective coordinators for service integration programs: they know the students and usually have had some contact with their families; they also are likely to have developed a network among other service providers in the community.

- **Broaden the responsibilities of Chapter 1 teachers and coordinators.** Expanded responsibilities might include the following:

    - attending case conferences at the school site;

    - meeting individually with social service providers when appropriate and necessary;

    - traveling off-site to attend conferences or meetings for programs not based in the school;

    - attending training sessions designed to increase familiarity with other service agencies and to facilitate participation in integrated service programs; and

    - gathering information and assisting in the development of management information systems.

- **Hire case managers**. Chapter 1 funds could be used to contribute to the salaries and training for case managers responsible for serving as the point of contact for individual families with Chapter 1-eligible children, working with the families to develop a service plan, supervising the implementation of the plan, and following through on prescribed services.

- **Develop new systems for assessing needs, tracking students' progress, and measuring outcomes.** Working with district and state Chapter 1 staff when necessary and with local service providers, Chapter 1 staff can align their data collection and record-keeping systems to match those of partner organizations (Kirst, Koppich, & Kelley, 1992). A coordinated system helps ensure that families do not need to repeat the same information to various service providers, service providers do not lose track of

children, services provided are consistent with one another, and school staff and other service providers are quickly aware of changes in the family, such as moving within the community but outside the attendance area. The development of coordinated mechanisms would require participation in systemic planning for service integration initiatives, in conjunction with other agency staff.

Encourage service integration. The legislation might go further than simply reminding Chapter 1 staff what they are already authorized to do; it could encourage them to participate in service integration. The encouragement can simply take the form of language expressly urging Chapter 1 staff to seek out opportunities to increase coordination; stronger encouragement would include financial incentives for participation, allocating additional Chapter 1 funds for such purposes as the following:

- **Hire a full-time school-based coordinator responsible for integrating services at the school site.** With added funding, the creation of this staff position would not entail any reduction in instructional opportunities.

- **Include staff development and training specifically focusing on service integration.** Funds could be used to send Chapter 1 teachers to training seminars and workshops on service integration and to allow them time to share the information with other school faculty. Chapter 1 might also sponsor outside speakers and symposia involving other community service providers.

- **Overhaul the training and functions of Chapter 1 aides to facilitate service integration.** Aides are a important resource, present to some degree in most Chapter 1 schools; they can contribute to service integration at a relatively low cost and with little loss of academic benefits. As Talbert (1992) points out, current trends in reforming academic instruction for at-risk children de-emphasize the role of aides as primary instructors, leaving them free to carry out other functions. "If Chapter 1 aides were authorized and educated to identify individual student needs and match them with community resources," Talbert writes, "they would serve a pivotal function in the classroom and school communities" (pp. 10-11). Chapter 1 aides often have strengths that teachers lack, such as familiarity with the community, knowledge of the students and families, and immediate empathy with parents. In addition, the promise of substantial assistance from aides might alleviate some concern on the part of teachers that service integration will add more work and detract from time available for instruction.

  One strategy by which the federal government might promote a shift in the role of aides is to model a training and certification program for Chapter 1 aides on Head Start's Child Development Associate Program, which serves to train and certify paraprofessional early childhood educators. A federally sponsored consortium would develop the standards for the training and certification process. "The success of the CDA model to prepare high school and GED graduates for work with the `whole child' in preschool programs recommends it—as a promising institutional strategy for Chapter 1 aide induction and as a philosophy which integrates education and caregiving roles" (Zigler & Muenchow, 1992, p. 31).

- **Provide ongoing support for operational aspects of service integration.** Chapter 1 funds could provide materials, office space, and other supplies for school-based service integration initiatives. In addition, computers used for Chapter 1 data might support information management.

Mandate service integration. There appears to be little support for mandating that Chapter 1 participate in service integration, for several reasons:

- Chapter 1 has neither the resources nor the background to resolve the enormous problems of the human service delivery system.
- Some schools do not need a new, integrated program to meet the needs of their students, either because such programs exist elsewhere in the community or because other successful mechanisms have already been developed.
- Effective service integration requires a great deal of planning, technical assistance, and adaptation to the unique needs of each community, making federal legislation an inappropriate lever for change.

IV. Parent and Family Involvement

To improve education, we have got to find more ways to involve more adults in the lives of children (Rich, 1992, p. 55).

The need for meaningful family involvement in preschool, elementary, and secondary education has become clear. Parents and other family members are obvious resources with whom students can interact and learn, especially because "much of what we learn and value comes from the home" (Rich, 1992, p. 26). As one recent report argues, "Since parents are the primary leaders and care providers of children after school hours, they are a logical source for structuring students' learning opportunities at those times" (Clark, 1989, p. 3). All family members (e.g., grandparents, aunts and uncles, and cousins as well as parents) can offer constructive support for children through frequent and sustained interaction. By involving parents and families, educators can effectively extend students' learning time, adding home-based learning activities to classroom instruction (D'Angelo, 1991). Educators and education reformers generally agree that the involvement of parents is essential to children's successful education, and they are devoting more and more attention to identifying and dismantling the barriers that tend to keep parents away from schools.

Children are not the only potential beneficiaries of parent involvement programs. Parents themselves can benefit as well, particularly when participating in programs that include parent education components focusing on academics, parenting skills, job training, literacy, and the like. As the number of parents that are economically disadvantaged, have low literacy skills, or speak languages other than English increases, parent involvement programs may need to target parents as learners, not just as supporters of children's learning.

Programs to get parents involved with education have different names. Parent education, parent training, family literacy, and parent involvement all describe efforts to involve parents in their children's education and enable them to support and assist their children's learning. Using parent involvement as an umbrella term for a wide variety of related programs and objectives, the following sections discuss the components of parent involvement programs, strategies for increasing parent involvement in Chapter 1, costs and outcomes of parent involvement programs, examples of successful parent involvement programs outside Chapter 1, and possible roles for Chapter 1.

Components of Parent Involvement Programs

Almost all schools provide some sort of parent involvement activities (Love, Logue, Trudeau, & Thayer, 1992), but these programs vary tremendously in form and intensity. Among Chapter 1

schools, opportunities range from parent-teacher meetings and parent volunteer opportunities, which are available at most Chapter 1 schools, to home visiting and intensive parent training projects, most common in the urban and high-poverty schools (Millsap et al., 1992). Some programs include classes for parents and home-based intergenerational learning activities. A number of schools offer parents roles in governance and decision-making.

According to the Chapter 1 Implementation Study (Millsap et al., 1992), Chapter 1 parent involvement programs usually focus on one or more of the following objectives:

- explaining Chapter 1 program features;
- communicating information about students' progress;
- soliciting advice about the Chapter 1 program; and
- training parents to help their children at home.

Training parents to help their children at home is the most recent addition to Chapter 1 parent involvement objectives. Whereas smaller districts still tend to focus more on communicating with parents about their children's progress, larger districts have begun to emphasize both training of parents and home learning activities. Some parent involvement programs (such as Even Start) include additional goals, such as enhancing parents' cognitive skills and improving the well-being and success of the whole family unit (Goodson, Swartz, & Millsap, 1991). Millsap, Moss, and Gamse (in draft) found that high-poverty schools (those with at least 75 percent poor students) are more likely than low-poverty schools (where less than 35 percent of students are poor) to offer certain activities for Chapter 1 parents, notably, those that focus on dealing with parents' special needs.

The Hawkins-Stafford Amendments of 1988 increased parent involvement requirements; they mandate written policies, assessment of effectiveness, and sensitivity to parents' literacy level and language proficiency. According to a study of the implementation of these amendments, they "are an attempt to reintroduce, through legislative provision, meaningful—and documented—parent involvement activities at the district and school levels" (Millsap et al., 1992, p. 4-1). While the amendments set a minimum level of required activity and prescribe certain components, state and local Chapter 1 projects have wide latitude in developing their parent involvement programs.

This section briefly describes components that are popular among successful parent involvement programs. Each program offers a mix of these and other components shaped by the characteristics of the community and the resources available to the school.

Parent Meetings

The most traditional (and most often mandated) parent involvement activities involve the transmission of information about school policies, classroom activities, and student progress by schools to parents. Some programs have developed materials to explain testing procedures to

parents, while others focus on issues such as discipline and homework. Large annual or semiannual meetings for all parents in the school or exclusively for Chapter 1 parents are often the cornerstone of parent participation. In addition, most schools—90 percent—hold parent-teacher conferences to provide report cards and other feedback as an alternative to sending reports home (Millsap, Moss, & Gamse, in draft). In some schools, teachers and other school staff discuss with parents the importance of conversing with their children, providing time and space for homework, encouraging and applauding academic achievement, and sharing learning activities.

Parent Volunteer Opportunities

Many schools offer parents the opportunity to volunteer in some capacity to assist teachers and administrators. Along with providing support to school faculty, volunteering can match parents' skills with appropriate jobs; as parents' ability to assist in their children's education increases, so does parents' self-confidence. Millsap, Moss, & Gamse (in draft) found that high-poverty schools are more likely to offer Chapter 1 parents opportunities to serve as tutors than low-poverty schools; 89 percent of high-poverty schools have such programs, compared with 63 percent of low-poverty schools.

Parent Advisory Councils

Traditionally, Chapter 1 parents have played a role, at least on paper, in program governance. Title I required the establishment of parent advisory councils in districts and, for a time, in Title I schools. In 1991-92, 68 percent of Chapter 1 schools had parent advisory councils (Millsap, Moss, & Gamse, in draft). The recent movement toward school-based management in many districts and schools has given a boost to the role of parents in school governance. In Chicago, for example, recent legislation mandated the formation of powerful councils in every school; parents by law hold the majority of council seats.

Parent Education and Training

During the past several years, there has been an increase in activities that engage parents as learners—either on their own behalf or in direct support of their children (D'Angelo, 1991). Parents learn parenting skills, ways to help their children with homework, and other child-oriented information. Some programs include activities such as storytelling, games, and interactive activities to model positive behaviors for parents (Clark, 1989; Walberg, 1992). Parent training focuses on parents' own literacy, employability, and English proficiency. Instruction in these areas may be essential before parents can help their children learn; such instruction can also serve as an incentive to draw parents to the school and eventually to encourage them to participate in broader activities. Activities to improve parents' literacy skills are more likely to be found in high-poverty schools (53 percent offer such activities) than in low-poverty schools (17 percent) (Millsap, Moss, & Gamse, in draft).

Intergenerational Learning Activities

Several models of parent and family involvement programs offer activities for parents and children to do together under the supervision of professional staff. These activities allow parents to experiment with techniques for productive and developmentally appropriate play and learning activities. Staff can model effective behaviors and alleviate any concern that parents may have about interacting with their children. In the Kenan Trust Family Literacy program, young children plan the activities for their parents.

Even Start is perhaps the most vivid example of a parent training program in Chapter 1. The program is designed to maximize the benefits of parent-child interaction. Each project offers four core services to parents and children up to age 8 on a twice-weekly, full-day basis: adult education (ABE/GED or ESL), early childhood education, parent education (to enhance child development), and parent-child activities. In many locations, there are separate instructional facilities for parents. These projects are often staffed by an adult education specialist and a parent liaison. Some Even Start projects also include home visits and provide materials for home-based learning activities (McCollum & Russo, 1992).

Home-Based Activities

Because of the difficulty of persuading some parents to join in school-based activities, some Chapter 1 projects have developed home-based components. These programs provide materials and ideas that parents and children can use in their homes; in some cases, volunteers visit homes to assist parents. Efforts by Chapter 1 projects to maximize home-based learning opportunities include take-home reading programs, activity calendars, lending libraries, and home learning packets (D'Angelo, 1991).

Trained paraprofessionals or volunteers who make home visits work singly or in pairs. The home visitors schedule regular visits to participants' homes as a way of promoting involvement in the program and facilitating home-learning activities. In some cases, home visits follow parent training classes, serving as a feedback device for parents who are experimenting with new types of home learning activities. In other cases, home visitors provide reminders to parents about activities and concepts they could explore with their children. At present, districts with large Chapter 1 enrollments are more likely than other districts to implement home visit programs. The overall proportion of districts disseminating home-based education activities has increased from 46 percent in 1987-88 to almost 75 percent in 1991-92 (Millsap et al., 1992).

Parent/Family Resource Centers

Some schools have designated space in the school for parents' use. In its simplest form, the center offers parents a cup of coffee. In some schools, active parent groups have developed extensive programs, coordinating parent volunteering, sponsoring events and activities, providing child care for preschool children, and serving as a meeting place for parents to socialize

and share information. In 1991-92, 29 percent of Chapter 1 schools offered parent resource centers (Millsap, Moss, & Gamse, in draft).

Support Services

Logistical support services such as transportation, child care, meals, and social service referrals make it easier for parents to participate in parent involvement activities. Programs make a variety of support service arrangements. Some Chapter 1 programs provide reimbursement for transportation and child care costs, while others move events closer to parents and provide activities for children in housing projects and community centers to enable parents to attend (D'Angelo, 1991).

Staff Development

Staff attitudes and knowledge are critical to parent involvement activities, and training staff to understand the need for parent involvement, to be aware of new service delivery models, and to be sensitive to cultural diversity can be an important part of a parent involvement strategy (D'Angelo, 1991). Respect for diversity is an especially important staff development issue, both for instructional staff and paraprofessional liaisons; according to a review of 10 programs, the need for ongoing training in this area is essential (Zeldin & Bogart, 1989).

Many successful parent involvement programs provide staff development on a regular basis. One Ohio teacher education program provides weekly parent involvement training to preservice teachers during their student-teaching semester (Clark, 1989). Because ongoing staff development is necessary to reinforce project goals and refine communication with parents, some family education programs schedule weekly or biweekly staff training and communication sessions (Goodson et al., 1991).

Promising Strategies for Increasing Parent Involvement

Findings from Chapter 1, Head Start, and a range of state and local projects have stimulated a growing consensus about the characteristics of successful parent involvement and family-based educational activities. While neither research nor practice has identified a single best parent involvement model or curriculum, a number of interrelated approaches and strategies appear to be effective. The following sections explore promising strategies for increasing parent involvement.

Diversifying Program Offerings

According to research in the area, parent involvement programs should include a variety of service models rather than relying on a single type of activity (Clark, 1989; Goodson et al., 1991; McCollum & Russo, 1992; Nickse, 1990). Recent research on the implementation of the Hawkins-Stafford Amendments found that "one characteristic of schools with effective parent involvement

is the conscious attention paid to pursuing multiple ways to interest parents in schooling, whether related to the child or to themselves. A comprehensive approach, when well implemented, appears to benefit all parties and could be further encouraged" (Millsap et al., 1992, p. 8-5). Linkages with adult literacy and special activities for parents with low literacy levels or poor English language skills can be effective as well.

Home-based activities can be an effective component of a diversified parent involvement program, particularly when it is difficult for parents to get to the school and when parents are uncomfortable in or hostile toward the school. According to Rich (1992), "Where family aides are in place in schools, mostly funded through the compensatory education programs, they perform vital services [e.g., making home visits]" (p. 44). Home visits can create an "intimate, helping relationship between the parent and a teacher/advisor and [provide] an opportunity for one-to-one demonstration by the visitor of teaching methods and ways to interact with children" (Goodson et al., 1991, p. viii). This strategy of communicating with parents can establish a level of trust that facilitates subsequent written communication and participation in school-based parent involvement activities.

In some Chapter 1 programs, the expanded set of parent involvement goals signaled by the 1988 amendments has led to a wider array of program offerings (D'Angelo, 1991; Millsap et al., 1992). More programs offer such elements as the dissemination of home-based activity kits, using liaison staff to work with parents, and linking parents with adult literacy service providers. In addition, a larger percentage of districts have implemented special strategies to enhance the participation of low-literacy and non-native-English-speaking parents.

Providing Services and Activities in Alternative Settings

Another aspect of program diversity that can enhance parent involvement programs is flexibility in scheduling meetings and selecting service locations. For working parents, offering breakfast or lunch meetings "downtown" may mean the difference between parents' attending or skipping the meeting; so may allowing plenty of lead time and a clear description of the importance of the event (D'Angelo, 1991). In order to increase the participation rate and effectiveness of parent involvement programs, some Chapter 1 projects have moved activities to more convenient locations outside school buildings. For example, a Chapter 1 program in New Jersey communicates information about upcoming activities at a table set up outside the local supermarket used by most families in the area each weekend (D'Angelo, 1991). Other Chapter 1 programs locate parent involvement activities in housing projects, apartment buildings, and community centers.

Larger Chapter 1 projects sometimes provide training and educational materials to parents and children in family resource centers. Located in spare classrooms, separate trailers, or nearby community service centers, these centers supply books and other materials that parents and children can check out. Some learning centers also offer classes in basic skills for parents. Centers like these can enable parents who are uncomfortable in a school setting to become

familiar with their children's teachers and classroom activities in a more neutral environment (D'Angelo, 1991).

Using Technology

Local projects are increasingly turning to audiotapes, videotapes, telephones, cable television, and computers to improve communication with parents and offer exciting activities (D'Angelo, 1991; Millsap et al., 1992). In one New York program, Chapter 1 staff have produced an informative videotape in a number of different languages, which will be televised over a local television station; other districts use local cable television to convey program information and to broadcast school board meetings. The Omaha Chapter 1 program uses a telephone homework hotline to keep parents informed about assignments and parent involvement activities. Take-home computers and computer labs are increasingly popular components of parent involvement programs, capable of attracting parents and of helping them engage in productive interactions with their children.

Targeting Specific Groups of Parents with Appropriate Activities

The conventional wisdom is that parent involvement is most effective and most easily implemented with parents of younger children. Early childhood is a period when parent involvement can have especially strong effects on children's learning (Love et al., 1992) and when parents appear to participate more readily and show more flexibility in their parenting behaviors.

However, parent involvement is not effective only in the early years; according to a recent analysis of parent involvement in Chapter 1, getting parents to remain involved throughout their children's schooling offers substantial benefits (Williams & Stallworth, 1984, cited in D'Angelo, 1991). The fact that parent participation tends to drop off in the higher grades does not imply that parents of older children will not participate or that their children will not benefit.

Although there is no clear consensus on how to target parents' involvement by students' ages, educators and researchers generally agree that program designers should not attempt to provide generalized, non-specific services. Instead, they should establish one or more target parent groups and tailor programs and materials to address the needs and concerns of these groups.

Developing Mechanisms for Formal and Informal Communication

Effective communication in parent involvement programs—especially structured, ongoing, two-way communication—is crucial (D'Angelo, 1991). Written communication and explicit planning formalize and discipline the parent involvement process (Clark, 1989); to be effective, written communications must be pertinent and understandable to the parent audience. Plans—especially those that are written and disseminated—can create unity and enhance mutual understanding among teachers, administrators, and parents. Some common types of written plans are parent-

teacher contracts, parent-child activity schedules, and parent-community liaison agreements (Clark, 1989). Exhibit 14 profiles one school's efforts to use communication with parents as a vehicle for parents' involvement in their children's education.

Exhibit 14
Communication in a Parent Involvement Program

Located at a school in an extremely disadvantaged neighborhood in Chicago, Operation Higher Achievement first established a staff and parent steering committee. Based on data from a parent survey, the committee developed seven parent involvement goals. For each goal, the committee wrote staff-parent-child agreements that were signed by each stakeholder group. The school staff promised to deliver a certain set of educational services; parents agreed to provide adequate space, time, and support for their children to complete homework assignments; and children agreed to make specific improvements in each subject area. Evaluations from this project indicated improved academic performance among low-achieving students.

Source: Walberg, 1992.

Assessment of the likely participation, knowledge, and goals of parents can help program planners develop an effective set of services (Clark, 1989). Zeldin and Bogart (1989) suggest that effective programs tend to assess community needs in order to design and adjust activities to promote participation and individualize activities.

A key component of assessing needs is soliciting constructive suggestions from parents. Parent involvement programs must seek to suit the needs and interests of the parents, who, after all, participate voluntarily. Many successful programs use parent surveys, planning group meetings, and other feedback devices to get parents to participate in the planning, design, and implementation of parent involvement programs (D'Angelo, 1991). These strategies also serve as effective recruitment tools (Millsap et al., 1992). Programs that attract parents by providing useful, immediate services and opportunities in response to parents' suggestions may prove more popular than those whose sole focus is the child (McCollum & Russo, 1992).

Accommodating Family Differences

At both the planning and operational stages, successful parent involvement programs work hard to accommodate family differences. Specific practices might include providing translated materials (especially publicity and intake forms), training professional staff in cultural awareness issues, and employing bilingual staff from target families' communities (Goodson et al., 1991). Other methods that have proved effective include conducting some activities in parents' native language and structuring parent meetings to allow participants and staff to exchange expectations

and beliefs about child rearing and education (McCollum & Russo, 1992). Activities such as these often enhance recruitment and retention of hard-to-reach families.

Recent reports on parent involvement and family education programs in Chapter 1 highlight the importance of cultural, linguistic, and socioeconomic sensitivity. Zeldin and Bogart (1989) state that successful programs "build on the strengths of at-risk families, recognize the barriers facing them, and provide options for different types of involvement" (p. iii). According to the Chapter 1 Implementation Study, "respect for and a welcoming attitude toward parents and recognition of parents' needs" are characteristic of effective parent involvement programs (Millsap et al., 1992, p. vii).

Diverse and individualized curricula and instruction can foster increased parent involvement among populations with language or cultural differences that might inhibit their use of mainstream materials.

> There is no evidence that one content or method is most effective or is best for all families; therefore, curriculum and instruction should be developed in response to program goals and participant needs... Programs individualize and adapt curriculum and methods to family needs by providing bilingual staff and material for non-English speaking families; addressing cultural values that relate to parent involvement in schooling; and being sensitive to crises and changes in the family's home situation that may require immediate attention (Goodson et al., 1991, p. viii).

Allowing parents to drop out temporarily, to participate selectively, and to re-enter a program during a service cycle are all effective strategies for retaining parents.

Hiring Parent Involvement Specialists

In 1991-92, 62 percent of high-poverty Chapter 1 schools employed a person to serve as a parent liaison, as did 30 percent of low-poverty schools (Millsap, Moss, & Gamse, in draft). Some recent studies have cited specialized parent involvement staff as a key program element—especially because of the importance of face-to-face interaction (Clark, 1989; Millsap et al., 1992). Parent involvement specialists or liaison personnel can perform essential outreach and one-to-one recruitment, devote time and energy to key issues in program development, make social service referrals, and coordinate activities between the school and the home (Clark, 1989; Millsap et al., 1992).

Hiring community members as parent involvement staff can facilitate communication, provide positive role models for parents, and increase the appropriateness of parent involvement activities—as well as limiting costs (Goodson et al., 1991). In many successful programs, parents from the target community are trained as "family educators," who recruit other parents and support ongoing participation via home visits, telephone calls, and other forms of assistance (Clark, 1989). Research has shown that paraprofessional staff can be as effective in these roles as professional staff, if not more so (Walberg, 1992). Project staff report that personal contact by

community members is necessary, especially when targeting recent immigrants or parents who have had negative school experiences (Goodson et al., 1991).

A number of parent involvement projects have used this strategy to enhance participation (Goodson et al., 1991). In Project AHEAD (Los Angeles), "family educators" recruit parents in disadvantaged areas by speaking with them at their homes. This interaction creates a personal trust that allows the staff to assess individual needs and develop a plan of action that is tailored to each parent. The family educator communicates with the teacher about the plan and returns to participants' homes bimonthly for activities. Project Home Visit (Claremont, CA) sends two-person teams to visit homes of families that teachers have been unable to contact, in order to solicit their involvement. The teams arrange for parent-teacher meetings and develop individualized assessments based on their personal contact with each family. Project HIPPY (Home Instruction for Preschool Youngsters), in sites nationwide, also uses parent educators from the community to increase recruitment of hard-to-reach families, as well as contacting churches, housing projects, and other community organizations. Exhibit 15 gives details about several noteworthy parent involvement programs sponsored by private foundations, local education agencies, and the federal government.

Exhibit 15
Noteworthy Parent Involvement Programs

Program	Sponsor	Components	Funding	Notes
Home Instruction for Preschool Youngsters (HIPPY)	National Council of Jewish Women and the national HIPPY program	Home-based activities for children ages three to five focusing on school readiness; home visits every two weeks	Local districts, sometimes supplemented by Chapter 2	The program originated in Israel and was brought to this country in 1984; there are currently 30 programs in the United States.
MegaSkills	The Home and School Institute	Training at regional centers at which community members, parents, and teachers receive information about the 10-session curriculum and home learning materials	Schools, corporations, and national organizations sponsor individual programs	Offered in both English and Spanish, the program has trained some 40,000 parents in the past three years.
Parents as Teachers (PAT)	The national PAT center in St. Louis provides training and materials to local programs in nearly 700 districts in 35 states	Home visits, education and health screening, instruction in parenting skills, referrals to social services, parent meetings, lending libraries	Federal funding and local project funds	Linked to the public schools and staffed by specially trained community members, PAT targets traditionally underserved populations--migrants, non-native English speakers, and single- parent families. The PAT program in Canoncito, NM, for example, serves rural Navajo families.
Project AHEAD	Los Angeles Unified School District and the Southern Christian Leadership Foundation	Home visits, parent meetings, assessments of family learning environments, and written parent contracts	State desegregation funds, local school budgets, and the Martin Luther King, Jr., Legacy Association	Parent educators work with parents to develop contracts for participation and communicate the content of the plans to teachers.
Kenan Trust Family Literacy Project	National Center for Family Literacy, Louisville, KY	Adult basic education, preschool, intergenerational learning time, parent meetings, parent volunteer opportunities, transportation and meals	Kenan Trust and the federal Adult Education Act	Parents and children attend the full-day programs together two to three days a week; children often lead intergenerational learning activities, planned while parents attend adult classes.
Family Math	University of California, Berkeley	Weekly instruction in problem-solving to reinforce school curricula and stimulate positive attitudes toward math for parents and children in grades K-8	The university receives federal assistance to disseminate its program	Minority and Spanish-speaking families make up a large proportion of the more than 37,000 families that have participated over the last decade.
Head Start	U.S. Department of Health and Human Services	Parent workshops, classes, home visits, home learning activities, volunteer opportunities (including training and certification for parents), parent advisory councils	U.S. Department of Health and Human Services	Although parent involvement has been a component of Head Start since its inception, requirements have recently become more stringent.
Early Childhood Family Education (ECFE)	Minnesota Department of Education	Early childhood education, parent-child classes, parent peer meetings, multicultural family education	Minnesota Department of Education	Based in centers located in housing projects, unused school buildings, and homes, ECFE targets hard-to-reach families through collaborations with community service providers. The St. Paul program, for example, serves the large Hmong population in conjunction with the Lao Family Community organization.

Sources: Barbara Bush Foundation for Family Literacy, 1989; Goodson, Swartz, & Millsap,

Providing Incentives and Support for Involvement

Emphasizing immediate, concrete benefits can engage even the most disadvantaged parents, who have their own compelling needs (Goodson et al., 1991). For this reason, some parent involvement programs have started to include adult literacy, English literacy, or GED (General Equivalency Diploma) preparation components. Some parents may be willing to learn ways to help their children succeed in school if, at the same time, they also learn English or take steps toward employment (McCollum & Russo, 1992).

Logistical support services also facilitate involvement for hard-to-reach parents. One report attributes the success of parent involvement activities in Head Start to allowing parents to ride on the bus with their children, along with providing child care for younger children, free lunch for eligible parents, and direct access to social services (Perez, cited in D'Angelo, 1991).

Many successful programs have found that door prizes, rewards, ceremonies, project paraphernalia, and refreshments all serve as incentives for attendance as well as signals to parents that their participation is valued (D'Angelo, 1991; Goodson et al., 1991) In some projects, incentives are written into contracts among parents, teachers, and students. Joint activities, such as a student performance or a field trip to apply for a library card, often attract large numbers of parents.

Obtaining Support at the School, District, and State Levels

Communicating the importance of parent involvement is an essential function for staff at the school, district, and state levels. The commitment and action of school faculty and administrators are features of many successful parent involvement programs (Zeldin & Bogart, 1989). Policies and initiatives that support parent involvement include redirecting resources toward parent involvement materials, adjusting job responsibilities to include parent involvement duties, developing schedules that allow staff to meet and plan, and consolidating the efforts of different parent involvement programs (D'Angelo, 1991).

Faculty and administrators can also enhance the coordination between and within Chapter 1, the regular school program, and community service providers. According to D'Angelo (1991), the most effective parent involvement programs are integrated with other school and district efforts. Partnerships with local businesses and community service providers can also help parent involvement programs function more effectively (Zeldin & Bogart, 1989).

Specific state-level activities that promote parent involvement include establishing an advisory committee on parent involvement, developing a written parent involvement policy, creating modules for school and district administrators to learn how to design and implement parent involvement programs, and funding parent involvement initiatives and curriculum development efforts (Clark, 1989).

Exhibit 16 profiles the McAllen (TX) Chapter 1 parent involvement program, which combines many of the strategies discussed in this section.

Exhibit 16
Parent Involvement Success with Diversified Components, District Support, and a Large Staff

Located in a Hispanic community of recent immigrants, the McAllen, Texas, Chapter 1 parent involvement program has been championed by the district superintendent, who broadened federal parent involvement programs to include all parents, tripled the local budget, and made increased parent involvement a district goal. The parent involvement staff grew to almost 10, including both federal and local staff. Building principals were given more time to work with parents. Parent activities in McAllen include parent education classes, home/school communication, volunteer opportunities, home learning, evening study centers, and parent meetings. The program uses STEP (Systematic Training for Effective Parenting), a commercially produced curriculum available in both Spanish and English. Parent contracts and weekly radio shows enhance retention and support program activities. Because of these efforts, a high proportion of parents in the community have productive relations with their children's schools.

Source: D'Angelo, 1991.

Costs and Outcomes of Parent Involvement Programs

Effective parent involvement programs need not be expensive. Programs that involve limited formal instructional time and extensive use of paraprofessionals have proved at least as effective as those that have specialized equipment and formal training procedures (Walberg, 1992). Some programs are not costly because they rely on volunteer paraprofessionals, provide less intensive services, and combine resources from a variety of programs (Rich, 1992). Some districts combine funds from different sources to hire a parent coordinator, purchase family literacy materials, or sponsor parent involvement activities.

The Hawkins-Stafford Amendments require districts to assess the effectiveness of their parent involvement programs; however, the bulk of such assessment appears to be focused more on the number of parents attending events than on the quality of the events themselves. Millsap, Moss, and Gamse (in draft) found that 94 percent of districts use indicators such as attendance at Chapter 1 meetings and activities; only 47 percent asked parents to rate the activities. Thirty-two percent of districts included parents' use of materials at home as an indicator of the effectiveness of parent involvement programs.

Researchers have struggled to pinpoint the effects of parent involvement programs on children. Some programs have produced measurable gains in children's self-esteem, desired behaviors, and skills associated with academic success (Barbara Bush Foundation for Family Literacy, 1989; Zeldin & Bogart, 1989). Other analyses demonstrate that different types of children can benefit from such programs. Although a recent synthesis found that all children, regardless of race, sex,

or age, do better in all academic subjects when their home learning environment is improved, there is some evidence that minority students living in urban environments appear to benefit most, and that their improvement is most pronounced in language arts (Walberg, 1992). Because program results are not always uniform, identifying the most effective practices can be difficult. Developing clear indicators of effectiveness is especially important for Chapter 1 parent involvement programs (D'Angelo, 1991).

Recent research concerning the effects of parent involvement and family education programs on parents is preliminary but encouraging. In some programs, participating parents complete GED programs, increase their literacy test scores, and enhance their English proficiency. For example, parents in the Kenan Trust Family Literacy program demonstrated increased test scores and higher rates of GED completion than a comparison group (Nickse, 1990). There is no single study that confirms all expectations for parent involvement, but there is sufficient positive evidence to warrant a continued effort.

Possible Roles for Chapter 1 in Parent and Family Involvement

The nature of authorized activities that involve parents has changed somewhat over the history of Chapter 1. First, the emphasis of family involvement has expanded to include involvement in learning, both of the parents and of the child, as well as communication and governance. Second, the scope of these activities has broadened to include a focus on the family as a whole. Reauthorization will probably underscore both these shifts. This section offers options for extending the law's emphasis on parent involvement, capitalizing on the lessons of recent research and practice.

Recent reports suggest a number of specific parent involvement activities that new legislation might encourage. This expanded menu of effective strategies can refocus parent involvement efforts that are sometimes limited to parent advisory councils, annual meetings, and informal parent-teacher communication. Some options for increasing the effectiveness of Chapter 1 parent involvement, all of which are currently allowed, include the following:

Broaden goals and methods to include home learning and parent education activities. Beyond merely establishing mechanisms to inform parents of their children's progress, Chapter 1 projects can:

- Extend students' learning time by teaching parents to conduct home learning activities, providing learning materials for the home, and creating a book and toy lending library.
- Enhance parental knowledge of child development, school practices, and effective parenting techniques through parent meetings and peer group discussions.

- Increase parents' ability to assist their children with homework by coordinating services with adult literacy, English as a Second Language courses, or GED preparation programs.

- Emphasize parent-child relations by creating structured intergenerational learning opportunities (e.g., parent-child take-home projects).

Provide support services. To enable parents to participate more consistently in parent involvement activities, Chapter 1 projects can:

- Provide child care and meals for parents who wish to attend parent involvement meetings or classes.

- Reimburse parents for transportation costs.

- Provide referral services to parents in need of other community services (e.g., health, public assistance, employment and training).

Share information and coordinate services with early childhood education programs that target low-income children (e.g., Head Start, Even Start, state preschool services). To prevent a dropoff in parent involvement as children move into elementary school, Chapter 1 projects can:

- Institute meetings between the staff of early childhood programs and Chapter 1 staff during which preschool staff convey information about families, share practical information, and help foster continuity in parent involvement activities when children make the transition from preschool to school.

- Encourage Chapter 1 staff to visit feeder preschool and early childhood programs in order to introduce themselves and the Chapter 1 program to parents whose children might participate the following year.

- Invite preschool or family literacy participants and staff to visit Chapter 1 classrooms so that both parents and staff become familiar with Chapter 1 staff and services.

Share information and coordinate services with other school and district parent involvement programs. To benefit from the additional resources and leadership of school or district efforts and avoid fragmentation that can limit parent involvement, Chapter 1 projects can:

- Schedule parent involvement activities to coincide with school or district events (e.g., parent-teacher conferences).

- Combine funds to hire parent liaison staff who can serve both Chapter 1 and non-Chapter 1 families.

- Encourage Chapter 1 parents to attend schoolwide activities and events.

Provide flexible services and varied activities. Because parents' needs, schedules, and capacities differ, Chapter 1 staff should include a flexible and diverse set of activities in their parent involvement efforts. They can:

- Schedule parent meetings at different times in order to allow parents with different schedules to participate (e.g., before school, during lunch, after school, in the evenings).
- Conduct activities at different locations that might be convenient and accessible to parents (e.g., housing projects, shopping malls, community centers, and churches).
- Offer a variety of activities, including parent meetings, literacy classes, parent advisory councils, conferences, volunteer programs, and home visits.

Hire and train staff to conduct face-to-face parent involvement activities. Classroom aides, parent volunteers, and paraprofessionals—particularly when they are residents of the community surrounding the schools—can function as liaisons to parents, educators of parents, and home visitors.

Accommodate differences of language and culture. To bridge cultural and linguistic gaps between schools and parents, Chapter 1 projects can:

- Translate publicity flyers and learning materials into the home language(s) of the parent community.
- Persuade community members to serve as volunteers and aides in parent involvement activities.
- Conduct activities in parents' native language(s), arrange for translation, or create videotaped presentations in a variety of languages.
- Train staff to recognize and accommodate cultural differences (e.g., in parenting and gender roles, educational expectations, behavioral norms).

Foster local support. Policy options for local education agencies to support Chapter 1 parent involvement efforts include:

- Establish an advisory committee on parent involvement.
- Develop a written parent involvement policy.
- Train administrators in designing and implementing parent involvement and parent volunteer activities.
- Fund parent involvement initiatives and related curriculum development efforts.

Mandate specific parent involvement efforts. Although the current Chapter 1 law **allows** many different parent involvement strategies, it **requires** only a few. In this respect, parent involvement provisions may not go far enough in promoting effective services to and for parents that benefit children. To promote expanded objectives and alternative strategies, new Chapter 1 legislation might include prescriptions and mandates above and beyond the current law. As the Final Report of the National Assessment of Chapter 1 (U.S. Department of Education, 1993) suggests, options include the following:

- **Require joint parent-school contracts.** Written contracts developed and signed by parents and school personnel can serve as a formal reminder that parents and schools must be equal partners if children are to succeed in school. The contracts can explicitly acknowledge the responsibilities of parents and schools, putting them in a context of shared goals and mutual expectations.

- **Require written reports on school performance for parents and the community.** A number of school districts and states have developed school "report cards" to inform parents and the community about students' achievement, attendance among students and teachers, and other indicators of school quality. Without specifying the exact content of such reports, Chapter 1 legislation could require that school districts issue annual performance profiles to parents and the community, thereby improving communication, increasing accountability, and encouraging parents to take an active role.

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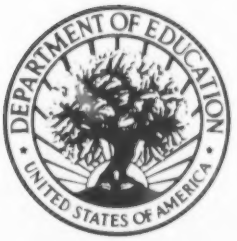

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